

Reviews

Public Values Private Lands: Farmland Preservation Policy, 1933-1985, by Tim Lehman. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995. xii, 239 pp.

Reviewed by John C. Allen, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

Public Values Private Lands is a must read for individuals interested in the structure of agriculture, environmental legislation, or political science focusing on regulation. The book is organized around five major chapters. These include "The Rise and Fall of the New Deal," "Agricultural Land Use Planning;" "The Reemergence of Agricultural Conservation;" "Farmland Protection on the Federal Agenda and Farmland Protection in Congress;" and "The National Agricultural Lands Study." Each chapter, as it develops, is linked to the book's core question: *If private land has inherent public values, how is it to be governed in a society that resists regulatory controls?*

According to Lehman, attempts to regulate agricultural land use at the national level have been undertaken in response to anticipated shortages and resource abuses. Only two such attempts in U.S. history have been serious, first during the New Deal of the 1930s, and again during the 1970s. The New Deal was a "sad story" of what might have been, according to Lehman. He argues that the primary impetus for the New Deal land use reform was a natural outcome of historical agricultural production practices that resulted in soil exploitation. Tracing this exploitation to the rapid expansion of farmland from 1850 to 1930, where over 300 million new acres were brought into production, he presents a sound argument that this expansion increased erosion by entering environmentally sensitive areas. As early as 1850, agricultural practices were observed to have dramatic adverse environmental consequences. This was a period of increased mechanization, land consolidation, and movement towards monoculture. John Strong of California claimed that grain production was a complete illustration of how man failed to understand the linkages between agricultural practices and the environment. By 1878, John Wesley Powell argued for land classification and planned settlement in the arid West. Within Powell's classification scheme were three categories: irrigation, timber and pasture.

Although many decades of accumulating concerns for the environment in general -- and the soil in particular -- played important roles in influencing the New Deal, another source of concern was the "Country Life" movement. This movement focused on improving the quality of life in America, in part through an efficient agriculture. The Commission on Country Life issued a report in 1908 expressing worry that the land's declining productivity was due to the mining of its virgin fertility. The social condition of any agricultural community was said to be closely related to soil quality. The Commission report argued that poorer individuals were forced to move to areas of lower quality soil. The report also warned that continued soil deterioration could reduce farmers to a dependent class.

These arguments, according to Lehman, led political figures to support land use planning. In 1931 Secretary of Agriculture Arthur Hyde sponsored a national conference on land use. Hyde opened the conference stating that the epic of land settlement had been completed, and it was now time to write a new "epic" that would limit agricultural produc-

tion, check erosion, and conserve our land inheritance. Within a few years the federal government began buying up sub-marginal lands through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Supporters argued that public land acquisition was only part of a much broader agenda. This agenda included the use of publicly owned land as a catalyst for multiple social and environmental purposes. Land reform was very tightly linked to social reform. The development of a political constituency increased the speed of social conservation and social issues linked to monoculture agriculture and exploitive practices. By 1933, the Soil Erosion Service had been established. By 1935, this agency had been given permanent status as the Soil Conservation Service (SCS), part of the Department of Agriculture. A primary theme echoed through policies of the Department of Agriculture during this period: farmers did not have the inalienable right to allow their lands to erode. The federal government had the right to intervene.

At this point in the historical narrative, Lehman takes us straight from the New Deal era, and jumps ahead three decades to the 1970's. The changes in agricultural structure, the movement from farming to agribusiness, is important in displacing agricultural interests from a Jeffersonian pedestal to the ranks of yet another special interest group. As land became a less important part of the productivity equation between 1950 and 1970, Lehman suggests that the conservation ethic, which had animated the land economists of the 1930s, gave ground to the dominant notion that agricultural land was more a commodity than a resource. In 1951 Theodore Schultz argued that technology had replaced nature's constraints and that agricultural land was declining in importance.

Lehman also argues that the Soil Conservation Districts became an agency of engineering that spoke the language of marketplace, private gain, and technological solutions to cultural problems. The political climate also influenced the positions taken by the SCS. Lehman demonstrates that in 1947, in the face of uncertain Congressional funding and recurring hostility from the Farm Bureau (and its allies in the Extension Service), the SCS created the National Association of Conservation Districts. During this historical period, Lehman argues that conservation values were sacrificed while the SCS was reorganized from a regional to a state basis and most technical services were shifted from the SCS to the land grant colleges and the Extension Service.

The re-emergence of agricultural conservation during the 1970s is linked to several factors. Agricultural areas were being subjugated rapidly to accommodate suburban growth. A recognition was growing in the U.S. of a need to feed the world. It was also during this period that soil erosion was "rediscovered." The environmental movement of the 1970s influenced the re-emergence of agricultural conservation. The argument was that for rural democracy to survive, ecological stability and sustainable agriculture must be achieved. This blend of ecology and agrariansim was not entirely new; much had been discussed during the New Deal of the 1930s.

The Nixon administration of the early 1970s promoted a number of policies with the premise that land use control is a legitimate public interest. The first major change in land use policy of the 1970s was the Coastal Zone Management law, which moved the power of land use from local jurisdictions to the state. The argument was that the key to environmental land reform lay in activating the power of the state to regulate private property. By 1973 Congress had enacted the Land Use Policy and Planning Assistance Act. A key feature of the act was to preserve farmland.

As the legislation moved through Congress, the Department of Agriculture seemed to lag behind even its administration, according to Lehman, and the new legislation was interpreted as a criticism of USDA conservation policies. Lehman argues that division with USDA about land use planning and soil conservation practices revolved around the conservationists and economists within USDA. He states that the economists, centered in the Economic Research Service (ERS), believed that government was an inefficient interference in the private marketplace.

By 1979 Congress was discussing a federal land use bill but it failed to pass. Failure of the bill's passage was linked to the perception that this might be the first step toward national land use planning. Strong fears were voiced that such policies would lead ultimately to a situation where government tells every landowner what they do with their property.

Lehman presents three primary conclusions from the examination of land use legislation. He argues, successfully, that on the political level, the movement for agricultural land preservation in the 1970s provided environmentalists an important inroad into agricultural policy making. Social science research was enhanced as many of the issues dealt with the social phenomena rather than strictly physical issues of land. These discussions renewed the focus on the ecological restraints on agriculture, enhancing the perspective that agriculture was moving from an era of abundance into an era of uncertainty about land, water, and energy resources.

Lehman concludes that farmland preservation should be viewed in the context of a more encompassing scope of federal and state policies. Export policy, agricultural research, federal grants, tax policies, federal interest rates, and even birth control policies, all of which are part of the context of land preservation in the 1990s. Given the increasing importance of land preservation, the movement within USDA to include sustainable agriculture in their discussions about agricultural production, and the increasing linkages between environmental and rural groups, this book makes an important contribution. By placing in context the federal policies influencing farmland preservation Lehman has provided a service to those of us who study and work with agricultural, environmental, and rural interests.

Prophets of Agroforestry: Guaraní Communities and Commercial Gathering, by Richard K. Reed Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995. xiii, 251 pp.

Reviewed by William Balée, Department of Anthropology Tulane University, New Orleans, LA

The Guaraní language is an anomaly in lowland South America. It is the only native American Indian language with more than a million speakers in that vast region--indeed, it numbers more than three times that amount. Most of the thirty or so surviving languages of the same family (Tupí-Guaraní), which are spoken in a broad expanse across lowland South America, exhibit fewer than 1,000 native speakers; many have fewer than 500 speakers. I know of one Tupí-Guaraní language originally spoken in the region west of the lower Tocantins River valley, that has only two known native speakers, a not so uncommon occurrence in today's lowland South America, with its sadly diminishing native language diversity. The Guaraní language, in contrast to threatened native languages, is spoken along with Spanish by about 90 percent of the inhabitants of Paraguay, most of whom, it seems, do not consider themselves to be "Indians" (*índios*), but rather Paraguayans more generally. It would be as if most of the citizens of the United States spoke the national language of business and government, English, in addition to a mother language, Penobscot, but who otherwise continued in every other way to be Americans as we think of them today. The analogy is extreme, but it helps illustrate the concept of an unusual nation in South America, Paraguay, that is bilingual but not really bicultural.

Whereas a language may exist apart from the culture with which its origins are associated, Richard Reed's new book makes a case for persistence of some native Guaraní cultural traits in a study of Chiripá communities in eastern Paraguay's Mbaracayú region. It is a useful though problematic ethnographic contribution. The Chiripá are one of three "native" Guaraní speaking groups in Paraguay, the other two being the Mbyá and the Pai-tavyterã. They differ among themselves, and all consider themselves distinct from the Paraguayan national society in nuanced particulars of ethnic identity. The Chiripá who are the subject of this monograph are further distinguished by their agroforestry. In particular, this book argues that subsistence production of food (a native trait) and extraction of a nontimber forest product (*yerba* [*Ilex paraguensis*, Aquifoliaceae -- holly family], used in the stimulating tea-like drink called *yerba maté*) for an external market are compatible with forest conservation. Specifically, the central argument of this work on the little known (outside of Paraguay) Chiripá people is that their lifeways until recently exemplified that otherwise elusive buzzword, sustainable development. That is, the Chiripá, according to Reed, are a people who have been able to use and commercialize the forest without destroying its physiognomy, or and altering or reducing its species composition.

But however useful this contribution may be as firsthand documentation of a little known, often neglected group of native South Americans, the methods used to evaluate the central argument are not transparent enough. The author's fieldwork with the Chiripá was in the respected tradition of participant observation over the long term, and Reed acquired a working knowledge of the language. That experience is valid. But the reliability of the finding that Chiripá agroforestry represents a model of sustained extraction, or an informed prophesy as to how agroforestry and conservation may be achieved simultaneously in eastern Paraguay or elsewhere in lowland South America, suffers frequently from a lack of specification as to how the primary data used to support that finding with respect to the Chiripá were constructed.

The Chiripá speak the same language as the other two native Guaraní groups of eastern Paraguay, even though there seem to be minor (though perhaps not to them) dialect differences. This language is fundamentally different from- though related to- the language of the neighboring Aché (or Guayaki), at one time a hunting-and-gathering people. The Chiripá are ethnically distinct in terms of religion and residence (p. 16). Their religious leaders (*tamoí*) use ceremonial speech that is "mutually unintelligible" with that of the Mbyá and Pai-tavyterã (p. 13). Their residence patterns seem to involve some tendency toward neolocality and the descent ideology is bilateral. The village (*tekoá*) seems to be an amalgamation of neolocal households united by ad hoc bilateral relations and some diffuse allegiance to a particular *tamoí*. Several *tekoá* make up what is called the "larger individual community," an artifact of national administration. It is not clear whether there is a native label for that community and whether it has any corporate existence (p. 79) in native ideology. Reed argues that nuclear family households are the "primary units of residence, production, and consumption" (pp. 88-89). They plant and harvest in subsistence swiddens (*kokué*) according to usufruct norms. These swiddens contain maize, sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, squashes, and other important food crops. Cash is obtained by sale of yerba leaves that are harvested from trees that grow in the low forest (*ka'ati*), unlike the high forest from which swiddens are cleared.

The author states the central argument several times, but the data do not always support it. He claims that "Yerba extraction has not destroyed the fauna, forest cover, or soil of Mbaracayú" (p. 25). But he also states the "Chiripá transplant [*yerba*] seedlings away from competition and cut away the undergrowth surrounding young plants . . . Thus, the forest of Mbaracayú has been transformed by centuries of human intervention" (p. 27). The evidence that the fauna, forest cover, and soil have not been altered or destroyed by *yerba* extraction is not given, so it is hard to evaluate the claims for sustainability here. Extraction does not involve felling or killing the trees, though, so there is at least negative evi-

dence to support Reed's central argument.

The extraction and sale of *yerba* seem similar in structural and economic aspects to the extraction and sale of natural rubber in Amazonia and chicle in lowland Mesoamerica. The resource in all three cases is scattered in the forest, or in some specific habitat of the forest; extraction does not, in principle, kill the tree; and labor involved in extraction tends to be individualistic. The atomization of Chiripá society, with its emphasis on nuclear family economics, seems comparable to that describe, by Robert F. Murphy, cited in Reed, for the Mundurucu Indians of south-central Amazonia, who became increasingly dependent on rubber extraction while maintaining subsistence agriculture. But whether the Chiripá nuclear family is usually not embedded in some larger group, even if that is not strictly a unilocal and corporate group, remains unclear in this ethnography.

It is difficult to assess Chiripá reasons for changing sites for swiddens. At one point, Reed argues that "as the fertility of their present soil and forests decline, Chiripá *tekoá* believe in their rights to move into new forest " (p. 86), which incidentally implies that the *tekoá* and not the nuclear family may be the "primary unit of residence," if not also of production and of consumption. Primary data on soil fertility are not given. But whether declining soil fertility is the underlying reason for village relocation becomes an open question, if not a contradiction, upon reading that "Weed and insect invasions, not soil fertility, are the principle reasons the Chiripá shift their plots" (p. 127). Perhaps the reasons for individual families' shifting of swidden plots are different from the reasons why aggregates of individual families in the form of the *tekoá* relocate the settlement, but if so these reasons are not explained in the text.

The null hypothesis with regard to group activity, as informed by Reed's participant observation, might be stated as "The *tekoá*, not the nuclear family, is the primary unit of production." A *tekoá* is first defined as a small group that has been "the traditional settlement unit in the forest" (p. 79). It is an exclusive group based on kinship, however cognatic the links, since individuals without kin relations in the group "can be excluded from the social life of the group" (p. 79). In this regard, I take issue with Reed's literal translation of *tekoá* as 'place of cultural life' from *tekó* 'culture' and *-a* 'place of.' The Guaraní did not aboriginally have a word for "culture," an anthropological term, and *-a* may best be considered an agentive suffix, only sometimes meaning "place of." *Tekó* is cognate with Ka'apor (a Tupí-Guaraní language of Amazonia) *tekó*, which means "having." The suffix *-a* is cognate with Ka'apor *-ha*, an agentive. The "*tekoá*" by my literal reading, admittedly influenced by another language source, would be best translated as having, or living space. A Ka'apor word for village, or "home," is *tekoha*, a cognate by inspection with Chiripá *tekoá*. It is possibly the main unit of production since even though extractivism (involving *yerba*) is individualistic, people do aggregate in units larger than nuclear families, and these units are probably pervaded by not only kinship ties but also by economic exchanges at the level of reciprocity in food and services. Nuclear families are unreliable units of production in tropical forests partly because of the unpredictability of success and failure of food crops over time. Larger groups can share more agricultural risk and are inherently more likely to serve as units of production in horticultural society. This does not mean that *tekoá* are corporate groups, and the author's arguments against that seem sound. But the diffuse ties of bilateral kinship can serve to aggregate households, and aggregated units seem to be critical to the long-term success of subsistence agriculture in lowland South American forests, including those of Mbaracayú.

Several minor errors with species identifications and names are to be noted. *Ricinus communis* is not a fruit tree, but the castor bean tree (p. 32); *Syagrus* sp. is not the same as the "coconut palm," which is *Cocos nucifera* (p. 137); caimans are crocodilians related to but not the same as the American alligator (*Alligator mississippiensis*) (p. 227); *Dioscorea alata* is a yam introduced from Africa, not the traditional (non-introduced) domesticated yam of lowland South America, which is *Dioscorea trifida* (p. 132).

Insufficient or inadequate statistical data are used to support the central argument. Table 4 (pp. 156-157) displays percentages of time spent in various activities but not the primary data. No attempt is made to calculate the significance, if any, between differences in time spent among the diverse activities by men on the one hand and by women on the other, or among the differences by any one sex for any two activities. Perhaps the sample size (of 2007 "time points" for adults of both sexes--note 14, Ch. 5, p. 227) was insufficient, and if so, the author should have stated that. Table 3 shows income per garden in the community of Itanaramí in 1982, but how these were measured is not given in the table or in the text. Table 2 on p. 98 shows the "aggregate Guaraní market basket" of 17 households; it displays percentages of expenditures on diverse food, clothing, production, luxury, and other items, but not the actual figures per household, and information on how the data were collected is not given in the table or the text. It is impossible to discern from these data, for example, whether there is stratification of income in Itanaramí. Table 5 on p. 161 shows a "sample of an adolescent's wage expenditures" as though it reflected in general on how the earnings from wage labor are spent, and therefore says very little.

I am not arguing that Reed's main findings are wrong--the problem is there is no scientific way to evaluate whether they are wrong or right from this work alone. It is entirely plausible that Chiripá agroforestry does involve subsistence agriculture and sustained extractivism (of *yerba* leaves). The problem concerns the presentation of methods and evidence for these findings. Reed's work has the validity of long-term participation observation, but not the reliability of canonical and transparent procedures in data presentation and analysis. Reed's book is nevertheless a welcome contribution to the ethnography of the Chiripá who have been largely ignored in the English language literature of lowland South America. His critique of dependency theory and his case for cultural persistence of the Chiripá people, despite involvement in a market economy, are well argued in the introduction. His descriptions of the principal sacred and secular rituals, ceremonial speech, religious leadership, and kinship organization seem solid and convincing in a comparative context. His basic mastery of the Chiripá language is also evident throughout the text. The book makes an important contribution, therefore, to South American ethnography; and it is a significant work with regard to defining a "complex frontier society" that maintains a "distinct ethnic identity" (p. 10). It will be important reading for specialists in the field of ethnicity studies. But it is not a definitive and not a prophetic account of Chiripá agroforestry. Perhaps Reed's next book will be.

Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government, by Nicholas Thomas. Cambridge: Princeton University Press, 1994. xi, 238 pp.

Reviewed by Gregory Eliyu Guldin, Pacific Lutheran University

Colonialism and colonial ways of thinking persist stubbornly in our late twentieth century world. Thomas' book is a good antidote to all the *au courant* talk of postcolonialism, when he reminds us that neocolonial domination in international and interethnic relations is undeniable and ranges in scope from nasty jokes and pervasive inequalities...[to] frequent military assaults against Third World states to enforce First World Domination. The focus then is on understanding colonialism in our neocolonial world.

The argument is based on the assumption that colonialism is not best understood primarily as a political or economic relationship. Instead, it should also, "equally importantly and deeply" be seen as a cultural process. "Colonial cultures are not simply ideologies

that mask, mystify, or rationalize forms of oppression...they are also expressive and constitutive of colonial relations in themselves.” Here Thomas is at one with the postmodern emphasis on discourse and meaning. More importantly, however, his blending of the economic, political, and discursive is a good holistic approach to the phenomenon. “Colonial culture thus includes not only official reports and texts related directly to the process of governing colonies and extracting wealth, but also a variety of travelers’ accounts, representations produced by other colonial actors such as missionaries and collectors of ethnographic specimens, and fictional, artistic, photographic, cinematic and decorative appropriations” (16).

Thomas’ stance amidst all the debate about “colonial discourse,” “the Other,” and Orientalism is that too often colonialisms are discussed as if they were universal totalities, that one pattern fits all. Not true, says Thomas, “only localized theories and historically specific accounts can provide much insight into the varied articulations of colonizing and counter-colonial representations and practices.” Most writing on colonialism he critiques for confusing Asian, African, and Amerindian; modern and premodern; metropolitan, settler, indigenous, and diasporic subjects; and assimilationist and segregationist colonizing projects. By doing so, he claims to be extending the work of Edward Said, Johannes Fabian, and Bernard Smith.

Not that there’s also room to find fault with these predecessors. In criticizing Said, Thomas points out that not all accounts of colonized cultures are negative; they can be sympathetic or idealized. Furthermore, while “Orientalism” may well characterize Euro-American views of Arabs in the twentieth century, it is not so true of the nineteenth century, nor of areas further afield such as East Asia and the Pacific. Similarly Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Abdul Jan Mohamed are all excoriated in turn for being colonial discourse universalists. Now Thomas’ interest in located subjectivities draws inspiration from Pierre Bourdieu, *Colonialisms*, not colonialism.

This somewhat Boasian emphasis on localizing and historicizing is meant to ward off the demons of essentialism, spirits which have possessed much of the colonialist “discourse” in anthropology, history, and literary studies of late. Although implicated in the earlier construction of racist cultural hierarchies, anthropology is saved by its ethnographic emphasis on the here and now, whereas travel receives a good dose of damnation as part and parcel of a process of domination and transformation. Foucault is invoked here as well to help us centrally situate government and power inequalities in our understanding of language, knowledge, and narrative. Thomas also auto-localizes by placing himself and his work in the Australian-Pacific relationship and its particular dimension of cultural politics and colonialism.

Thomas attempts to avoid going to the other extreme and does not call for detailed colonial histories. He shows the balance he is after in a number of case studies, all drawn from the British Empire, to illustrate the value of a historicized, ethnographic approach. His discussion of colonial projects and discourses from the late nineteenth century through the twentieth is meant to show varying colonizing projects with different models of settlement, and with differential rates of successful colonial representation and presentation.

Towards the book’s end, Thomas attempts to domesticate our understanding of colonialism’s culture by finding it among us First Worlders at the present time. *Dances with Wolves*, the movie, is analyzed for its projection of contemporary colonialist views of indigenous peoples. This critique of representations of primitivism in Australia and North America is needed and useful.

Overall, *Colonialism’s Culture* is somewhat dense to read, what with Babha, Foucault and some other intellectual heavyweights. But the book was accessible to nearly half the undergraduates in my class on *The Development of Underdevelopment*, so I trust the readers of this journal will accomplish no less! Thomas has some important things to say about contemporary international and interethnic relations and by the time one reaches the

concluding chapter on the “Post-Colonial,” the author has succeeded in convincing the reader of the need to conceive of the multiplicities of colonialism.

Review of *Sanumá Memories: Yanomami Ethnography in a Time of Crisis*. Alcida Rita Ramos. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995. xx, 346 pp. (paper).

Review by Raymond Hames, Anthropology Department, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

As I have done considerable research among the Yanomamö,¹ it was with anticipation that I received notice of Alcida Ramos' publication of *Sanumá Memories*. This work is a useful contribution to the large and still expanding research on the Yanomamö, an Amazonian people who have become a classic case study for anthropology and the social sciences. They are probably the most widely read about tribal people in the world, largely a consequence of Napoleon Chagnon's immensely popular ethnography *Yanomamö: The Fierce People* (first published in 1968 and the most recent edition in 1992).

The Yanomamö have become a focal point for theoretical debates concerning the causes of warfare among tribal people, the promise of evolutionary biological theory in the behavioral sciences, and most recently, and lamentably, they are internationally known as victims of grave human rights violations. Ramos' *Sanumá Memories* was first published in Portuguese in 1990 as an update of her 1972 doctoral dissertation (The Social System of the Sanumá of Northern Brazil, University of Wisconsin) supplemented by several return visits to the Sanumá (as recently as 1992) yielding additional chapters. A number of the chapters have been published as journal articles in both Portuguese and English.

Based on the work of Ernesto Migliazza, the Yanomamö are divided into four ethnolinguistic groups: the Sanumá or Sanema with 3,200 speakers in about 100 villages, three-quarters of which are in Venezuela; the Yanomamö with 11,700 speakers in 171 villages, with about 80 percent in Venezuela; Yanomam with 5,300 speakers in 64 villages, nearly all of which are in Brazil; and the Ninam (or Yanam), with perhaps as many as 850 speakers equally divided in Brazil and Venezuela. The work under review here is the most systematic account of we have on Sanumá social organization. Other major works on the Sanumá by Kent Taylor and Marcus Colchester focus on ethnobiology, ecology, and economics.

Chapter One consists of a standard ethnographic overview focusing on the distribu-

1. Readers may be interested in the use of the terms Yanomamö and Yanomami. Following N. Chagnon's convention, I use the term Yanomamö to refer to the Yanomama in general while Ramos uses Yanomami. The difference has to do with how to represent the terminal vowel -- either by “ö” or “i” -- which is a high, central unrounded vowel that has no equivalent in English. For English speakers it is pronounced similarly to the “e” in “me” or the first vowel in “peter”. According to the International Phonetic Alphabet, this phoneme is represented by an “i” with a short bar through its center. It was first used in the rendering of Yanomami by Jacques Lizot who has worked for several decades among many of the same Yanomama groups as Chagnon. Unfortunately, typesetters do not have the proper symbol and instead they resort to “i”. Typesetters do have the symbol “ö” which is a much closer sound representation than “i”.

tion of Yanomamö groups in Venezuela and Brazil, their history, environment, economy, village life, and relations with outsiders. The location of Ramos' research ranged from *Auaris*, a multicultural village cluster consisting of a *Maiongong* (*Ye'kwana* in Venezuela) Indian village, Protestant Mission, mixed Maiongong-Sanumá village (the "Colony"), and a Sanumá village to six other Sanumá villages located one to several days walk from *Auaris*.

Chapters Two through Four deal largely with the dynamics of the Sanumá descent system and political leadership patterns. Like the better known Venezuelan Yanomamö, the Sanumá have patrilineal descent but it is more formal and complex. All Sanumá are members of sibs (clans) who trace their descent patrilineally. Sibs are not corporate (although sib-mates are expected to be hospitable to one another) and largely function as exogamous groups. The pattern of marriage between sibs is frequently reciprocal, leading to apparent long-term exchanges. Whether this pattern is a result of sister-exchange and ensuing double cross-cousin marriage or something else is not elaborated by the author. Beneath sibs are lineages, which Ramos defines as being "identified by a common founder, common name, and a strong intermarriage prohibition" (p. 67). The key difference between a lineage and a sib is that the lineage is preeminently a local descent group while a sib is a grouping with a common name, dispersed over several villages.

Interestingly, whereas all Sanumá have sib membership only about half all Sanumá belong to a lineage. Although ambitious men attempt to nurture the creation of local lineages, this process is thwarted by the presence of a uxori-local marriage rule, which works against the localization of agnatically related males. The process is also thwarted by disputes over leadership within lineages, which leads to village fissioning or splits, and the dispersion and destruction of lineages. Ramos clearly documents the chronic rise and fall of lineages using historical case study material with a special emphasis on the various tactics for ascending to the position of headman and quantitative data on sib and lineage membership in seven villages. In addition, in Chapter Four Ramos provides quantitative data on the frequency of various marriage forms, marriage alliances between villages, and the political significance of the in-law relationship.

Chapters Five through Eight are devoted to a detailed consideration of Sanumá conceptions of time, the social significance of personal names, and how names are acquired and related to spiritual entities. The influence of postmodern writers such as Derrida is plainly seen here. Ramos provides an interesting analysis of why personal names are important, why they cannot be used as a form of address, and yet how they are fundamental to the identification of lineages.

Chapter Nine represents yet another postmodern thrust: this time experimental playwriting (complete with a cast of characters in seven acts) on a rumor of an alleged murder that swept through adjacent Maiongong and Sanumá villages. The play is used to represent mutual fear, ethnocentrism, and distrust between Sanumá and Mainongong, which has its origins in a long history of warfare still fresh in the memory of the elders of both societies. As a method of presentation it is moderately effective, but it is an inadequate substitute for an empirically and theoretically informed analysis of interethnic relations and the political role of gossip in a traditional community.

Chapter 11, "The Age of Gold and Misery", describes the author's work with Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) and government authorities to stem the mortal consequences of the invasion of gold miners in the Sanumá area. It is a tragic and frustrating tale of humane anthropologists, medical personnel and missionaries ultimately failing to protect the Sanumá against miners supported by an alliance of military, political, and economic interests. The author leaves the Sanumá proper to broaden her scope to chronicle the gold rush that today still devastates many Yanomamö in Brazil. From 1972 through its incompleteness in 1976, the *Perimetral Norte* road opened the edge of Yanomamö land to settlers. Initially, villages near the road were devastated by the introduction of measles

and influenza. Malaria, which is endemic in most Yanomamö areas, flared to epidemic proportions probably as a result of the introduction of new strains of the parasite to which the Yanomamö were not adapted.

As the never-fully-completed road opened, RADAMBRASIL (a remote sensing and ground-truthing project of 1975) indicated that much of the area had poor agricultural soils but contained a potential bonanza of mineral wealth. Ultimately this brought the gold rush of the 1980s and an influx of thousands of miners backed by major commercial interests who cleared dirt landing strips allowing miners to penetrate deeply into the interior. In 1987 the military took control of the Surucucus and neighboring areas where most of the mining was occurring, expelled missionaries and anthropologists, and permitted mining to continue unabated. This action was part of the military's *Calha Norte* project to settle the border area in the name of national security. During this period an estimated 23 percent of the Yanomamö in the area perished from disease or murder by miners. This and other events made world headlines, and in 1990 newly elected President Collor acted to reduce the 45,000 miners in the Surucucus region to about 2,000 by blowing up illegal airstrips and prohibiting flights to supply miners. Further good news ensued in 1991 when Decree 22 was signed by President Collor, which permitted more than half of the indigenous reserves so far legally recognized to be demarcated. Despite these acts, miners soon flooded back into the region. The plight of the Yanomamö received international attention in August of 1993 when 16 Yanomamö men, women, and children were massacred by miners at the village of Hashimu. Unfortunately, government investigation and promises of increased vigilance have not significantly stemmed the spread of disease or miners into Yanomamö lands.

According to some observers, the status of Decree 22, which permits the demarcation of native lands towards the end of securing their land rights is now jeopardized by Decree 1775 signed by President Cardoso on 8 January 1996. An analysis by Terrence Turner (a member of the American Anthropological Association's Commission on Human Rights) forwarded to the World Bank by Yolanda Moses President of the American Anthropological Association, claims that this decree "retroactively invalidat[es] all reservations established under Decree 22 as unconstitutional, thus removing their legal protection and rendering them potentially vulnerable to revocations, partition, and legalized invasions ...". It is unclear whether this analysis of the consequences of Decree 1775 is correct. Interested readers should consult the next and subsequent issues of the *Anthropology Newsletter* for an exchange of views between academic and World Bank anthropologists.

My greatest disappointment with *Sanumá Memories* is the author's lack of comparative perspective to the mass of literature on the Yanomamö, especially the work of Napoleon Chagnon and Jacques Lizot. Both ethnographers, like Ramos, have extensively treated the topics of kinship, naming, lineage dynamics, leadership, and settlement fission, fusion, and growth. Although imperfect, comparison is the most powerful method we possess for understanding differences and similarities in sociocultural phenomena in groups who share a recent common history and origin.

Reference Cited:

1996. American Anthropological Association Committee on Human Rights. *Brazil's Giant Step Backward on Indigenous Rights*. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.

Cotton is the Mother of Poverty - Peasants, Work, and Rural Struggle in Colonial Mozambique, 1938 - 1961, by Allen Isaacman. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1996. xii, 272 pp.

Reviewed by Frank Hirtz, Department of Human and Community Development, University of California - Davis

The book delivers exactly what its title and subtitle promise -- an account and the consequences of an enforced agricultural commodity regime over a time span of 23 years. It establishes impeccable standards as to how to successfully conduct interdisciplinary research of African social history. Thus, this book can serve very well as a textbook for future historians. The methodological richness employed yields stunning results. Isaacman perused archives not only in Mozambique and Portugal but also those of the cotton concessionary companies and archives in neighboring African countries. He also reviewed materials of the American Consulate in Laurencos Marques to capture the official discourse of dates, policies, and statistics alongside which the oral history can be placed.

The book gains its strength and uniqueness by interpreting this colonial period from 1938-1961 through the eyes of the subjects of this colonial policy. Anyone who has ever attempted to combine classical historical sources with interviews (in this case over 160) that Isaacman conducted with people of all walks of life in Mozambique will appreciate and admire the elegant results of such a toil. It gives the account and analysis an air of authenticity that cannot otherwise be achieved. Throughout the study, Isaacman quotes these voices with their full name as to make clear that their grievances, analyses, and judgments can stand side by side with the regularly cited classics in African history, political economy, and theories of resistance.

Not to be mistaken: this is foremost an academic book, whose major achievement is to capture the entirety of a specific agricultural colonial policy over time by turning each stone that might have repercussions on the social life of Mozambicans. Any short review cannot do justice to the wealth and breadth of material covered in this book. Almost all of the angles that Isaacman took to get to the heart of the cotton policy can very well serve as a potent lesson for the present flood of development experts advising the country's leaders on rural development policies. Refuting the 'idle labor thesis' is one case in point: for the cotton policy was, among other things, based on the assumption that there is abundant labor available and that the labor available can also much more efficiently be used for the production of a commodity for a local and international market economy. Making a living in rural (and most likely urban) Mozambique is still very hard and time consuming. Any change, enforced or induced, has to take into account the consequences of unbalancing this delicate relationship. Throughout the book Isaacman takes a perspective in which he connects most fruitfully gender issues with all aspects of rural life and economy. It not only shows how heavily women (and consequently infants and children) were affected by the introduction of cotton but also how gainfully a gendered approach can -- in the reviewer's mind *must* -- be employed in any sociohistorical study. In short, this book unearths the often unspeakable details of coercion, brutality, terror, racism, shortsightedness, and carelessness of the colonial Portuguese regime that made a very few rich, that impoverished the majority, and changed the entire social fabric of a society by letting people starve for a totally misguided commodity policy. By presenting these details, Isaacman disproves the often held myth of the comparatively more benevolent Portuguese colonial regime and establishes quite clearly the immense effect that colonization had on the least minutiae of

the sociocultural environment of the subjugated people of Mozambique.

I have two major wishes and two minor points that were left unfulfilled by this book. The minor, editorial ones, first. The excellent photographs would be even more valuable if captions included a date when they were taken. Also, a glossary of Portuguese and Mozambican terms, which Isaacman uses often, rightly and compellingly, can help those readers less well embedded in Mozambican society.

A more critical issue is that I do not see a major theoretical thrust around which the author's narrative and the Mozambican voices are assembled. His approach is to assert the agency, autonomy, and resourcefulness of the rural Mozambicans to eke out a living, to cope with and to forge resistance against the colonial cotton policy by documenting at the same time in admiring detail all the facets of local and international cotton policy. At the end, it leaves the reader with an encompassing description of social change: increase of rural differentiation, forms of everyday resistance, ecological change and issues of malnutrition, hunger and changes in staple foods, accounts of gross human rights violations. Further, issues that deal with the powers of the Portuguese colonizer are ever present, yet an overarching theme seems to be left unnamed. Mentioned in passing is Sen's theory of the "entitlement crisis" and considerations that deal with vulnerability. Between the lines are glimpses of the world system theory of how the peripheral colonizer Portugal incorporated Mozambique --a far away place in the periphery of the periphery-- into the global market. Yet a discussion of these major themes, i.e. entitlement crisis, vulnerability, and globalization, is conspicuously absent. I suspect, that this, and this is my second point, seems to be related to the fact that Isaacman only scantily discusses 'the colonial state' or 'the colonial administration' but presents it as if it were one unified and partly unifying force over the decades that are covered in this book. Having said that, I hasten to add that not many people would be able to address these issues all hinted at in footnotes and short asides, as adeptly as Isaacman. How to conduct such a discussion, Isaacman himself has set standards in this book that will be hard to follow. An important book, indeed.

The Mekong Delta: Ecology, Economy and Revolution, 1860-1960, by Pierre Brocheux. Madison: The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, 1995. xvii, 270 pp.

Reviewed by Joakim Öjendal, Göteborg Center for East and Southeast Asian Studies (GESEAS), Göteborg University, Sweden.

"IN THE BEGINNING THERE WAS WATER" - THE MEKONG DELTA AS A HISTORICAL SUBJECT

The Mekong Delta is one of the areas in the world where making a living is a work of art. Marguerite Duras made her childhood experience from the delta into a literary work of art in her *Un Barrage Contre le Pacifique*. Albeit from 1950, that book probably has brought the Mekong Delta into more living rooms of non-Vietnamese and nonexperts than any other source. The family in her book--destitute, desperate and confused--hangs on to a piece of property that they themselves dislike and find impossible to make a good living

from. Water--the curse and the blessing of the delta--makes the land salty and soaked because the unregulated water regime. What is even more impossible for this family to understand is what is happening in their surroundings; in spite of being long-time residents, they have little idea of how the Vietnamese society around them operates. Nonetheless, they are somehow rooted to the land, but in the light of deteriorating economy and their inability to manage the property, they break up and leave, first the delta, and then Vietnam. This book could be read as the beginning of the end of French colonial engagement in the delta. In a more down-to-earth, academically comprehensive fashion Pierre Brocheux has (also initiated by his childhood experiences) created a totally different piece in his book. It is very different, but tells the same story.

The Mekong Delta is one of the globe's major delta areas. It receives and discharges 475 billion cubic meters of water every year from the mighty Mekong River, which is the tenth largest in the world and the largest unregulated river. It emanates far up in the Himalayas, passing China, Burma, Thailand, Laos and Cambodia before it enters Vietnam. Already in Cambodia, the river spreads into several main arteries that through nine arms discharge into the sea. That is also how the river has earned its name in Vietnam: "The nine-tailed dragon" -- *Cuu Long*. (It is sometimes said in Vietnam, with a low voice, that "It really does only have eight arms, but nine is a lucky number, so we added one"). For the major part of the delta the river spreads into a crisscross pattern of water ways, making the entire area with the conditions that the river and its water sets. The delta's history is marked by both richness and hardships, and parts of it have even been largely uninhabited and "unconquered" by the otherwise historically fiercely rivaling empires on Mainland Southeast Asia. Still today the borders are basically undefined, pushing Vietnam and Cambodia into a centuries-old quarrel over the exact demarcation of the borderline.

As the competition for space increases with population growth (in Vietnam there are approximately 900 persons per arable square kilometer), the delta becomes increasingly densely populated. Moreover, with a Vietnamese growth-led, export-oriented development strategy, the delta is viewed as an area with a huge potential. It is already the grain basket of Vietnam, producing about half of the national rice harvest, and it is considered to have a much greater potential than, for instance, the Red River Delta. It is, however, also an area prone to disasters: in the short term from salt water intrusion, floods, or both.

In the long term the delta faces even more serious problems. The Mekong River waters have been subject to a drawn out regional political dispute primarily involving the four lower basin countries (Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam). A new agreement on resource cooperation was concluded in April 1995. Whereas the former agreement gave the downstream countries a virtual veto to water use, the new accord basically gives the upstream countries the right to use the water as long as they inform downstream countries. As fresh water becomes all the more valuable there is a serious risk that less water, and of worse quality, will arrive at the Delta. Certainly upstream countries, including China, have plans for the usage of the water. The Delta is thus also prone to long-term degradation due to the problem of intensifying upstream water usage and increased pollution from industrialization and the modernization of agriculture. With increasing population pressure, disasters will become more disastrous. And as some ecologists like to point out, certain areas in the world ought not to be heavily populated. They may be able to carry the pressure in most years, but "disasters" are an integral part of their character, and not just repeated "bad luck." To support increasing population pressure then, it is sometimes argued, is to beg for disasters.

Thus, with its high potential for agricultural development and vulnerability to disaster, the Mekong Delta is likely to be an area that we need to understand more fully. Pierre Brocheux has given us an instrument for doing just that, and from this point of view, his study is extremely timely. He has set out to capture a hundred years of social evolution confined within the parameters of the delta's very special ecology and its habit of producing revolutions. Brocheux takes us on a tour from the earliest French endeavors in the delta right up to the beginning of the national/communist war with the U.S. His interest lies predominantly with the Mien Tay, the area west of the Mekong mainstream, and the overarching question of the book is how the French arrival came about and how it affected the society.

In the first chapters, Brocheux describes the natural preconditions for the delta and here, as in much of the book, the author's knowledge goes beyond simple textbook skills. The early history of the delta--remember that the Vietnamese did not arrive in large numbers until the early ninetieth century through their Nam Tien (March to the South)--is told, albeit not very much is known about it. As one of the pioneering Vietnamese mandarins expressed it in 1818 when he entered the western part of delta. "This sacred place, which had been hidden to the eyes, had not yet been trod by any human foot" (p. 10). In Mien Tay the Chinese arrived just before the Vietnamese, and the Khmer, at the time the "original" people of the (western) delta, were few and scattered over a large area.

When the French arrived in the 1860s to take control over the delta region, the Vietnamese control of the area was still to be established and consolidated. The French met some resistance, but it was largely suppressed by 1875. Not surprisingly, the French in their engineering approach to "development," tried to get control of the waterways and indeed a large number of channels were dug which drastically increased the transportation capability and agricultural productivity. Huge areas were drained between 1890 and 1925, and rice land could be expanded considerably.

French colonialism created a massive ecological as well as economic transformation. Thousands of miles of canals were dug to drain the swamps and vast stretches of mangrove felled. Thus, Mien Tay was opened to large-scale human habitation and agricultural cultivation (p. xvii).

Indeed the delta emerged in a short time as one of the major rice-exporting areas of the world. For the French, and for the Vietnamese, the gradual occupation of the delta resembles that of the "Wild West" in the US; land was free, few rules were applied, life was tough but the result for those who succeeded could be extremely good. Some got rich. Others became landless and grindingly poor. The difference was often decided by arbitrarily acting authorities, a failed harvest or careless money lending and spending.

The area apparently went through a booming era even as major hardships were experienced. Far too often the person clearing the land seems to have run into trouble and been forced to give up their land, becoming a part of a landless *trasprouletariat* or farming indirectly for an absent landlord, or moving further west clearing new land. Uncertainties in harvests emanating from hazardous climatic circumstances seems apparently was one of the major stumbling blocks for the small farmer; especially pronounced due to the extreme monoculture of rice. The Vietnamese peasantry was squeezed between the Chinese rice monopoly, the Indian money lenders, the French colonial authorities, and the large land owners (French, or Vietnamese rewarded by the French for their cooperation).

Land grabbing, unequal exchange conditions, forced labor, manipulated prices, and conflicts over land and water seem to have been the order of the day. The story is common: the "underdog" paid the price.

The Mien Tay area had two main features Brocheux tells us, "it was rural and it was plural"; there were Chinese, Vietnamese, French, Khmer, Indians and Chams. Internal conflicts were historically well known, but the French presence seems to have put a lid on its and, at least made the different ethnic groups accept some degree of co-existence. The Khmer were more numerous close to the mountains and in the west part of the delta, the Chinese were more urban oriented and the Chams in rather sealed off self-sufficient communities. Socially speaking, two groups dominated: the *dien chu* (landowners) and the *ta dien* (tenant farmers). The former, group included both the absent large landowner, often drawing discontent by lack of responsibility, and the small land owner, whose living conditions were not necessarily very different from those of the *ta dien*. This is a pattern we recognize from other parts of Indochina.

Although the period around the turn of the century was tough enough, the period to come, leading up to the second world war, became even more difficult for the people of the Delta region. Brocheux tells us about the reformation of the society and how class conflicts, religious sects and the early communist movements emerged; he convinces us of the devastating effects brought to the delta by the world depression in the early 1930s; he tells us about the subsequent recovery in the late 1930s and how the turmoil of the second world war reached the delta. In the end of the book we approach a history that is somewhat more familiar, researched and written about in other parts of Vietnam--the preface to independence from the French and the run-up to the war against the U.S., and the subsequent degenerated South Vietnamese regimes. The book finishes with a synthesis of the covered period.

Brocheux' book is well researched. The French as well as the Vietnamese source materials are extensive. Frequent references are made to documents varying from French official material, to Vietnamese daily papers, to letters exchanged between actors in the delta, and so forth. We are typically taken into the debates on various issues of the time and, understanding that sources outside the French archives must be difficult to obtain, Brocheux has done good work. Moreover, his deep knowledge of the area adds credibility and flavor to his accounts.

The book's subtitle--"Ecology, Economy and Revolution..."-is, however, somewhat off the mark for two reasons. First, "Agricultural" would have been a more proper word than "Ecology." The natural conditions are discussed, but no attempts are made to systematically try to understand how scarcities in general and biophysical constraints in particular affect societal development. Thus the study takes only a little step towards understanding a realm in serious need of attention. Secondly, while "Revolution" is a safe word in regard to the Mekong Delta, the time period chosen places it inside two major "revolutions" in the delta. Two of the major periods of social change must be the period before the French arrival as compared to after the French arrival, and the period taking the delta from a largely colonial set up to one of more genuine independence; i.e. through the 1960s and 1970s. This is neither to say that the period chosen was free of "change," or uninteresting. One could, however, argue that "revolution" is not the most appropriate label for this period.

On the critical side, as a reader more interested with the dynamics of the region rather than historical empirical data as such, one lacks interpretation, analysis and perhaps a hypothesis on which Brocheux could test his material. Tellingly, the introduction and the

conclusion are but a few pages each, in spite of the fact that there is an overwhelmingly rich information base to dig from. This becomes somewhat frustrating as there is no reason to believe that Brocheux lacks this capacity; there are shorter, and highly interesting, parts of a more analytical nature in the book. Moreover, judging from his previous titles, Brocheux has a great deal to say here. In a similar vein it feels strange reading an academic book on revolution in the Mekong Delta that does not engage in the debate on causes for revolution and discussions on where and why Vietnamese nationalism was born (cf. Anderson 1983). In fact rebellion, revolution and opposition emerge seamlessly from a docile, subdued and politically unorganized peasantry in Brocheux' book. A lot of historical evidence is displayed, but little analysis is offered.

Having said that, this work must be considered as a major contribution to the factual knowledge of life in the Mekong Delta in this particular period, and although it may be lacking a more thorough analysis, the reader is free to make his or her own conclusions. As such the book is a more usable tool for the student of Vietnam than a part of the ongoing debate on revolution and nationalism. It is more of a sociological text than a story of ecological evolution, and it is more of a history of a part of Vietnam than an input to the development debate on the resources of the Mekong River.

The publisher--the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin - has overall done a good job. No errors, well drawn maps and charts, and a nice layout. The book is all-in-all 270 pages of which 50 pages are devoted to various lists, references and appendices. A special reference should be made to the fairly extensive glossary list, allowing the reader to take full advantage of Brocheux's consequent use of Vietnamese terms, which in turn, adds a degree of exactness in his writings. There are also a number of interesting appendices reprinting a number original documents. One misses an index, however, which would have been particularly useful in light of the factually rich text. In addition, (all publishers, please take note) placing the notes in the end of the book severely hampers a comfortable and distinct reading. There might be good publishing reasons for this, but the reader does not benefit from it.

In a way Brocheux (and history if one likes) closes a circle when ecology is picked up as a major theme; some of the most important early studies on the Mekong Delta were, as Brocheux also points out, made by agronomists and geographers (e.g. Yves Henry and Pierre Gourou). Closing one circle, it highlights the opening of another. Brocheux's work is a mere start of more work to be done on the relationship of environmental scarcities and social interaction and, I fear, large-scale conflicts. Given the large discrepancies between the projected economic development of the Delta and its vulnerable position, ecological considerations are bound to be extraordinarily important for the well-being of the Mekong Delta and its people in the future.

Reference Cited:

Anderson, Benedict R.O.

1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso Editions.

Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor and the Capitalist World System in Africa and Latin America, edited by Frederick Cooper. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993. viii 430 pp.

Dependency and Development: An Introduction to the Third World, by Ted Lewellen. Westport: Bergin and Garvey, 1995. xi, 271 pp.

Reviewed by Richard K. Reed, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Trinity University.

The 1970s saw a burst of insight into the historical development of global economic and political relations. Previously, social science had envisioned the world as divided into two distinct sectors, the "traditional" and the "modern." Radical critiques of that paradigm recognized that the centers of a world system manipulate and expropriate wealth from "underdeveloped" countries. In turn, these reformulations have been roundly criticized over the last two decades. The world capitalist system has been shown to be less a monolith than a pastiche of struggles in which local conditions and groups exert considerable power. Moreover, our concept of world structures has come under attack as rooted in time and place. We have come to see our models as subjective representations of our world, rather than objective realities.

It is perhaps a fitting moment in the historical development of our own knowledge to take account of the state of our concepts. The two books offered here explore these models of the world system, considering the recent advances. These authors do more than consider the state of the art, they lay the groundwork for further developments and new understandings.

The first of these books, *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor and the Capitalist World System in Africa and Latin America*, proposes to re-evaluate our paradigms for understanding world history. Five established scholars discuss the theories and models for African and Latin American development. They seek to bridge these two continents and compare the project of workers in these two sectors of the world system.

The work sets its task as more than an explication of the historical relation between peasants and labor in these regions. It redefines these processes, using recent advances in historiography and cultural analysis to evaluate the promises and pitfalls of the models. It does not engage directly with the conventional paradigms of modernization theory; nor does it try to provide the final and ultimate model to supplant the more recent critiques of radical models. This work attempts to provide voices to the growing discussions of history and change in a global perspective. In short, it is designed to stimulate new thinking and work on the topic.

The work successfully opposes discussions of African and Latin American literatures. This allows the reader to understand the areas of commonalities and the different paths that the two have traveled over the last decades. Moreover, by discussing concepts (e.g., "peasant") and case materials from two continents, it allows the reader to appreciate historical differences between the areas. This can account for some, but not all, of the theoretical incongruities.

In the introductory essay, Stern points out that the last two decades have seen splin-

tering in the historical study of labor and peasantry. First, the objective stance of traditional historiography has been thoroughly criticized, replaced by an awareness of the analysts' perspective. Second, the social history movement has shifted the focus of analysis to the power of non-elite sectors. Third, the specialization of historians has created scholarly myopia, obstructing the grand vision of writing world history. This volume, then, seeks to rediscover the common ground in historical analysis of labor's relations to world structures.

Stern finds the common ground in the dialogue between diverse voices and experiences. On one hand, the voices of anthropologists, historians, Latin Americanists and Africanists have brought diverse perspectives to the study of these issues. On the other hand, the project of this social analysis has shown that the monolithic world system is more accurately described as myriad local experiences. Diverse forms of resistance and accommodation influence the relations that develop. The cadence of these voices, attended to in unison, provides "reverberations" that make the larger themes and issues evident.

In the first analytic essay, Stern evaluates Wallerstein's model from a peripheral perspective, focusing on Latin American sugar and silver production in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Wallerstein's model improved our understanding of capitalist market relations. However, Stern points out that it misses important local factors that constrained and patterned the development of sugar and silver economies. Stern posits that two additional local factors need to be integrated into our understanding of world history: popular strategies of resistance and the struggles of local mercantile elites.

Shifting to Africa, Cooper offers a comparative perspective on global economic history. The basic essay was written in 1980 and passes the test of time in its clarity and comprehensiveness. Cooper follows his original piece with a more current postscript that analyzes recent theoretical contributions to the understanding of African development problems.

He asks succinctly "But is there anything in this trend toward cultural and linguistic analysis that is relevant to the "dismal science" which was the subject of this essay?" (1993:195). He answers the rhetorical question with qualified affirmation, citing studies that explore the power of development concepts to define relations between the center and periphery. For example, Cooper points to Ferguson's (1990) study of Lesotho, which was defined as "politically and economically isolated." This blinded the world to a century of exploitation it received at the hands of world and state powers.

The third and fourth sections of this book are more conceptually focused. They rethink the concept of "peasant" as it applies to the analysis of both African and Latin American societies. Isaacman points out that, in Africa, the concept of "peasant" has always been problematic. In contrast to its use in Latin America, where it referred to the cultural aspects of rural groups, in Africa the term took on a more political economic character. Farmers were "peasants" in three respects: their relation to land (small holder or tenant); type of production (subsistence); and their relation to the elite (surplus extractors). Isaacman integrates recent awareness of the struggles in which this group is engaged. Thus, peasants are recognized as not only shielding critical resources from the exploitative elites, but with the political space for localized resistance.

In Roseberry's essay, "Beyond the Agrarian Question in Latin America," he reassesses the structural focus of the debates about Latin American peasantry. The radical critique of modernization theory focused on dependent relations emanating from the center of world capitalism, and gave the impression that a general history was imposed on "from above". Attracted in the 1980s to the historical and systemic concerns of dependency and world-systems theories, a cohort of scholars transformed them. Anthropologists and historians brought an awareness of the profound complexity of class and ethnic relations that defy and confound categorization. These called attention to the actions of local groups and the experience of individual actors. Peasants relate to their political worlds in a complex montage of resistance and accommodation. These are reactions to, but not determined by,

the larger world of which they are a part.

Mallon provides the final and concluding chapter to this volume. She points out that the last generation scholars critiqued the dual structure of modernization theory, highlighting links of central powers to Latin American and African societies. The present generation of scholars have discovered diverse voices and case studies that challenge the universalist paradigms of dependency and world systems theories. Our task, therefore, is to find the underlying resonance in the variety of historical experiences over the two continents and four centuries.

Mallon points out the current study of universalist paradigms make us aware of the contestation of knowledge, discourse and culture. These recognize how local power negotiates with larger structures. As long as awareness of these issues remains the sole property of the intelligentsia of so-called developed countries however, it reinforces the imperialism and power differentials of the past.

As a unified piece, this work is as important for the generalist as for those who have been engaged with the recent material. These articles have much to offer scholars who immersed themselves in the dependency and articulation of modes of production debates, then abandoned them as gendered, ethnic and post-structuralist models grew in intellectual fashion. The volume reviews the strengths of these earlier paradigms from the vantage point of our present skepticism. It allows us to reintegrate them into the eclectic perspectives that we use to understand our increasingly complex world.

Dependency and Development: An Introduction to the Third World is an introductory text, seeking to explain the third world and its problems to the newcomer. Author Ted Lewellen describes the relations between rich and poor nations, and the relentless change in the modern world. Using a perspective that draws on both dependency and development theories, Lewellen explores issues in Third World development, including population growth, environmental problems and human rights.

As an analytic overview of the field, the book both describes and explains international relations. The work introduces and evaluates theoretical constructs of international development, focusing on those that highlight relations in which more powerful states influence conditions internal to weaker nations.

As a text, the book is suitable for advanced undergraduates, established graduate students, or the informed generalist. The author defines basic concepts, such as "imperialism" and "colonialism," which gives the newcomer the tools to begin to think about different structures for international relations. It also evaluates different models of these relations, which highlight the shifting focus of development theory over the last decades. Finally, for the more advanced reader, this text explores a series of case studies, in which the models highlight critical relations between powerful and weaker countries.

First, the book sets out to define its subject for the introductory reader. To do so, the author falls back on the term "Third World." Despite its intellectual baggage, the concept points to a variety of important social, economic, and political differences between powerful nations and "the rest." Lewellen is a cultural anthropologist, and this affiliation is clear in the multifaceted nature of this focus. He has drawn on political science, economics and history, using case studies from around the world. Thus, in analyzing the "Third World," the work is interdisciplinary in both tone and substance.

The book provides a brief world history of the broad international connections that were formed long ago. This underscores the actions of powerful nations that have driven much world history. While outlining the relentless drive toward connection, Lewellen makes an effort to point to the positive and the negative impact of these relations.

This book also introduces the reader to the variety of theoretical formulations that have defined the development literature. Lewellen provides a brief and cogent description of modernization, dependency, and world systems theories. He argues that no single theory can explain the complex present. Besides exploring the power of international rela-

tions, he points to the powerful forces at work within weaker nations. Thus, the book attempts a synthetic approach to understand the changing world of today.

The heart of this book is the exploration of six social issues understood in linkages between local and international levels. The first analyzes the internal economies of third world countries. The discussion of domestic economy challenges traditional perspectives of poverty, which rely on indices of GNP, and points out that the analysis needs to attend the distribution of income as well. In addition to the agricultural and industrial sectors, this points to the third important economic sector including both the informal economy and government employment. This chapter relates the organization and problems of domestic economies of third world countries to the traditional inner-directed models, notably the basic needs and the import-substitution models.

The fifth chapter outlines the situation of third world economies in the international economic order. This discusses the imbalance in the world marketplace, then outlines neoliberal and Asian models for extricating national economies from these ties. It concludes with the international debt crisis of the 1980s and the new world economic order.

The sixth chapter outlines the link between economics and politics in the developing world. The discussion uses game theory to point to the conflicting agendas of the various actors, and the means that political elites use to dominate state bureaucracies. The seventh chapter focuses on the demographic problems faced by many Third World countries: population growth, migration and urbanization. Lewellen's discussion on population focuses on three aspects. He surveys demographic arguments of world population growth, showing that economic insecurity leads to high fertility rates in Third World countries. This discussion also points to the problems created by urban migration in countries with little infrastructures and declining employment. Finally, the discussion of demography discusses the recent rise in refugee populations, and the particular problems they create for state systems with few political and economic resources.

The last two issues discussed in this book move to the contemporary debates about the sustainability of development and abuses of human rights. Current development is rapidly destroying the resources on which it depends. Urban air and water are rendered toxic by industrial development; expanding rural economies destroy forests and leave deserts in their wake. The discussion of the environment ends on a cautiously optimistic note, pointing to the recent policy changes in multilateral banks drafted in response to international concern.

The last issue discussed in this text is human rights. Lewellen points out that genocide, torture, and murder are common in many developing areas. Ethnic differences, economic pressures, and the consolidation of state control create an environment where respect for humanity is often overridden by the mandate of development. Indigenous groups, most especially, have suffered from their relations with this process of change and development.

The final chapter in *Dependency and Development* reviews the mixed outcomes of world economic growth and political consolidation. It points to the dramatic increase in health, education, and democratic institutions over the last decades, while recognizing that problems continue and, in some ways, are exacerbated.

This book provides a clear and balanced discussion of the problems and prospects inherent in our growing world. It is informed by our contemporary understanding of the political, economic and ecological linkages between the First and the Third Worlds. It shows that the problems of the Third World are not a necessary aspect of world history, but were created in relations between developed and developing nations. The book is especially useful in being aware of the demise of the Soviet state, and the dramatic shifts in the world's balance of power and ideological landscape.

At a theoretical level, this book attempts to go beyond the distinct perspectives of dependency and modernization theories, by synthesizing them into a single approach. The

result leaves the reader with an understanding of the complexity of the problem, without the coherence of a single approach.

In many ways, this book fails to break out of the conventional molds for development and underdevelopment studies. For example, by choosing the concept of the "Third World" as the unit of his analysis, Lewellen steps into the quagmire that has hampered previous discussions. The intransigent nature of these problems calls for a new concept.

Both books offer useful perspectives on the current state of international affairs and world stratification. Whereas the former book provides the advanced social scientist with much to think about, the latter starts yet another generation thinking about the problem.

Feminist Political Ecology: Global Issues and Local Experiences. Dianne Rocheleau, Barbara Thomas-Slayter and Esther Wangari (eds) London and New York: Routledge, 1996. xviii, 327 pp.

Reviewed by Helen Ross, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

Given the theoretical contribution of gender studies to the field of political economy, this collection is a timely development in political ecology and in feminist theories. It is an equally useful set of case studies in development- -and especially sustainable development--studies, human ecology, anthropology, rural sociology, and social movements, well worth recommending to students in any of these fields as a course text.

In their opening chapter, the editors explain succinctly the positions and differences of a number of schools of feminist scholarship and activism on the environment. They describe their conceptual framework of 'feminist political ecology' as linking insights from feminist cultural ecology and political ecology with those of feminist geography and feminist political economy.

Feminist political ecology treats gender as a critical variable in shaping resource access and control, interacting with class, caste, race, culture, and ethnicity to shape processes of ecological change, the struggle of men and women to sustain ecologically viable livelihoods, and the prospects of any community for "sustainable development" (p. 4).

They focus on the gendered knowledge used in the creation and maintenance of healthy environments, gendered environmental rights and responsibilities, including property, resources, space, legal and customary rights, and gendered environmental politics and grassroots activism. These dimensions provide a general framework for analysis, around which the case studies are grouped.

Unusual for an edited collection, the case study chapters are almost seamless in their styles of analysis and writing. Most of the case studies artfully combine analytical comment with detail that enables one to visualise the situation.

Another strength of the organisation of the case studies is that whereas one theme, such as activism, predominates in each section, the other themes also permeate the analyses. For instance, Bru-Bistuer's Spanish case studies outlining women's participation in oppositional campaigns to industrial waste disposal also emphasises women's understandings of the environmental issues, focused on concerns for health. Miller, Hallstein and Quass' West Harlem case study describes a community (with substantial female leadership) that opposed the siting of a sewerage treatment plant in their area. It goes on to

describe the health risks to women and children using the park subsequently built on the roof of the plant, owing to their gendered use of space. The other case studies emphasizing grassroots activism and gendered politics are Campbell's analysis with the women's group of Xapuri, of the extent and value of women's participation in the rubber tappers' union in far western Brazil, and Wastl-Walter's account of Austrian women's roles in grassroots opposition to the destruction of riverine forest on the Danube for hydroelectric power. In the latter case, the political campaign led to national changes in political participation, including an increase in women's participation.

In each of the sections, the juxtaposition of cases from industrialised and other countries is telling. The editors explain their wish to break down the stereotype that environmental issues in the so-called developing countries are a matter of survival, whereas in industrialised countries they are concerned with quality of life. The blend of case studies from different regions and ecosystems underlines commonalities in conditions and experience.

Gendered differentials in resource rights are examined through case studies on Kenya (Wangari, Thomas-Slayter and Rocheleau), the Philippines (Shields, Flora, Thomas-Slayter and Buenavista), and a central Himalayan valley (Mehta). For instance, the Kenyan case study explores the ways in which gendered customary rights to land and resources have interacted with colonial and postcolonial decisions on land tenure to increase women's alienation from the means of livelihood in semiarid regions. The case studies in this chapter also canvass gendered knowledge and famine response, and grassroots activism and self-help. A further example of rural women's diminishing control over access to cultivable lands and forests is provided for a Himalayan district in India. This case study also highlights how mountain farming systems are marginalised within national agricultural policy and research priorities. Like the Kenyan case, the Himalayan ownership rights--accruing to males, who are often absent--promote inequitable access to resources and structure women's dependence on men. This dependence, coupled with women becoming more marginalised from agricultural decision-making, and devaluation of their knowledge systems, leads to low social recognition for their roles in agriculture and affects food security.

The Philippines case study examines the effects of transition to a market economy on social exchange networks and practices, and the complex relationship between social exchange, gendered livelihoods and sustainable development. Women are central to the exchange networks. I particularly enjoyed the account of hog raising under the traditional exchange system and the market system. It reminded me of Lauriston Sharp's classic account of the social impacts of missionaries giving Australian Aboriginal women steel axes, where they had previously had to borrow stone axes from men under an elaborate social exchange system. Sharp's article could now be reread as gendered, if not feminist, political economy.

A section devoted to gendered forms of knowledge includes case studies in Zimbabwe (Fortmann), the Dominican Republic (Rocheleau, Ross, Morrobel), Silesia, Poland (Bellows), and the U.S.A (Seagar). These cases could have been grouped under activism. The Zimbabwe case study breaks the pattern of the other chapters by using the first person style, and describing participatory methods. The Dominican Republic case continues themes raised in other cases, that women's knowledge and practice of agriculture and forestry remain invisible, and that gendered interests are at stake in changing livelihood systems.

In another example that is as much about activism as about the combination of women's experiential knowledge with their scientific knowledge, the "tested food for Silesia program", founded by women, is described as a creative and pragmatic response to health and livelihood needs in a highly polluted region. The chapter speculates whether the movement will in time become "mainstreamed" and taken over by men. A final case study

on the U.S.A discusses environmental activism against nuclear facilities. The knowledge theme is picked up in discussion as to whether women's strong roles in environmental activism reflect a female "ecoconnectedness", or can be explained in other ways. The chapter contrasts science-based with experience-based environmentalism, arguing that the former removes environmentalism from the realm of lived experience and undercuts the valuable environmental knowledge of local observers, marginalising women.

The final chapter identifies themes common to the case studies: (1) linking environment and survival, (2) the impact of large economic and political systems on localities, (3) asymmetrical gender-based entitlements to resources, (4) the value of local knowledge, (5) gendered rights over space and access to social and political power, (6) questioning of perceived divisions between rural and urban spaces and production systems, and (7) women's political struggles. These themes illustrate the editors' intentions to reject dualistic constructions of gender and environment, in favour of multiplicity and diversity, and an emphasis on the complexity and interconnectedness of ecological, economic, and cultural dimensions of environmental change. They amply illustrate the connections between global and local scales, in policies, processes, and practices.

Feminist Political Ecology provides an invitation to examine the power relationships that shape the environment through the insights of gender analysis, and a set of frameworks for doing so. It is far from a closed, or even finely crafted body of theory, more a description of common themes identifiable through this particular set of case studies and no doubt to be found in many other cases. This invites us to try out new ways of looking at gendered power relations in the shaping and use of the environment, while by no means attempting to have the last word. The work remains strongly grounded in the case material. The framework dimensions and theoretical insights are clearly drawn from these, and at all times in the theoretical chapters the case studies are used for illustration.

Among several lists of dimensions identified from the case studies, the editors outline four points as a basis for theory. These are

- (1) recognition of the interconnectedness of all life and the relevance of power relations including gender relations in decision-making about the environment;
- (2) questioning the presumption of technological progress and domination of nature;
- (3) recognising that ideologies shape relationships among gender, knowledge, environment, and development--especially those formulated with a patriarchal mode--and that these create gendered access to information, knowledge, resources, and technologies for improving livelihoods; and
- (4) addressing the different structural positions occupied by women and men, such as men's tendency to specialise, women's to pursue integrative roles in economic activity and resource management.

As a set of principles specifically identified to define a feminist political ecology, I found these less satisfactory than theoretical statements embedded elsewhere in the text. The defining characteristics are conjoined somewhat awkwardly with more general principles that are prominent in ecofeminism and common to a number of environmental philosophies and new paradigms within the traditional disciplines. This is just a matter of presentation. It illustrates that feminist political ecology is joining the groundswell of integrative thinking which has been emerging across many disciplines and interdisciplinary fields for the past quarter century. The important point is that recognition of gendered dimensions is still far from sufficient in the analytical and activist fields that recognise the interconnectedness of all life, and question the paradigm of technical progress and domination of nature. The theoretical strength of this book is less in this set of principles, than in the argument that gender interacts with (not merely adds to) the other dimensions of power relationships already recognised in political ecology.

The editors recognise that in common with the majority of writing in political ecology and feminist scholarship, the book is primarily an analytical work, despite the degree of interest in analysing activism. The chapter on the Dominican Republic raises the important point that we need to move beyond critique to transform practice in land use and resource management. This is clearly the next challenging domain for feminist political ecology.

Roads in the Sky: The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change, by Richard O. Clemmer. Boulder: Westview Press, 1995. xiv, 377 pp.

Reviewed by Marc Sills, Political Science Department, Metropolitan State University, Denver, Colorado

This book is of great significance to anyone looking for an updated and comprehensive view of Hopi affairs, as well as to anyone even modestly sensitized to the questions raised by the Navajo relocation. Framed in a "world systems" model of global-local articulations, *Roads in the Sky* is also an essential addition to the bookshelves of American Indian policy scholars.

On a personal note, I began my graduate studies as a "Big Mountain partisan" (Clemmer's term). I was motivated at first by the alarms that were heard in the late 1970s and early 1980s, claims that Navajos (at Big Mountain, the reference is to *Diné*) subjected to the terms of the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act of 1974 (PL 93-531) were victims of "genocide." How could this be "genocide", without machine guns and gas chambers and other means of mass murder? Eventually, I undertook a conceptual investigation of "ethnocide" (also referred to as "cultural genocide"), always with the Big Mountain question to orient my perspective (Sills 1992).

Are Hopis, as well as Navajos, victims of ethnocide? As Clemmer makes clear in this book, both peoples have suffered an immeasurable loss of control of their own destinies as a result of the policies to which they both have been subjected. But neither people has vanished, as was forecast only several decades ago; instead, they have both survived sufficiently to have developed successful resistance and revitalization strategies. Measuring and testing the balance of shifting countervailing forces of Hopi cultural life and death is the project that Clemmer has taken on. Confronting the full scope of these forces has required a clear-headed deciphering of the many contradictions of Hopi realities and, later in the book, their pertinence to the relocation. Clemmer is able to describe that tangle of issues with impressive clarity and insight. His book masterfully highlights the intricately interconnected clan, lineage, ceremonial, village, economic, political, social and personal relationships among Hopis. This richly textured fabric of social organization is situated within a shifting context of struggle over the allocation of political power, a colonial economy based on coal-mining, and Navajo neighbors whose presence is an obstacle to the full control of Hopi ancestral lands.

Roads in the Sky is anchored conceptually in the "world-systems" model of "modernization," a dynamic framework for analysis of neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism. Identifying the origins, the persistence, and observable manifestations of a peripheral

power node in Hopiland are major objectives of the book. But, as Clemmer explains, the "modernization" that drives the proliferation and extension of power nodes is a messy process that generates major counter-forces to take into account, including diverse indigenous resistance and adaptation strategies. Since colonialism and imperialism are broadly understood to be illegitimate in Hopiland (as elsewhere), resistance movements can be predicted to continue for generations, and there may never be a time when hope of ultimate liberation is decisively extinguished. Clemmer's purpose, in part, then, is to identify evidence that Hopis continue to resist colonialism, that they are not ultimately controlled by the United States, that in fact Hopis have actually exercised their own moments of control over the United States, and that the struggle is far from over.

Clemmer makes a significant contribution by describing the arc of "resistance to directed culture change" as a multi-dimensional counter-force to the process of ethnocide. His work on resistance to acculturation is anchored in the works of Bronislaw Malinowski, Melville Herskovits, and Edward Spicer, each of whom wrote of power struggles between colonizing and colonized peoples. Clemmer explicates the historical Hopi (and Navajo) experiences of "indirect colonial rule," which has defined U.S. Indian Policy since the 1930s. *Roads in the Sky* tells of a complex process of developing indirect rule as a policy of forcibly compressing several independent Hopi nations together into a centralized administrative entity -- "The Hopi Tribe." Represented by the Hopi Tribal Council, this administration has now had some forty-five years of relative continuity but remains fundamentally flawed and relatively unstable. As Clemmer explains, that instability is also evidence of Hopi resistance to colonialism, evidence with which one might argue that the struggle is both unresolved and has an uncertain prognosis.

The role Clemmer himself has played in Hopiland began in the late 1960s, when he informed some traditional Hopi leaders of the secret leases of the reservation lands for coal strip-mining. Clearly, he contributed something to the conflict then ongoing between the so-called "Traditionals" and the so-called "Progressives" in power, but that effect was apparently only temporary, since it was in the interest of all Hopis to know about the leases. The act of baring this secret was immensely controversial, but time and the seamless Hopi web of all issues and relationships have reworked its meaning. Thirty years later, the Hopi Tribal Council can speak compellingly, and with the associated authority of "Traditionals" to defend it, of controlling the mineral extraction process that feeds it and makes its life possible economically, whilst damaging the entire ecosystem and abusing human rights in the process.

Evidence of Clemmer's continued activism is to be found in his comprehensive exposition of relevant political facts (instead of including just those that are in the interest of one partisan group or the next). He even argues that some of the Hopis who been understood previously as "Traditionals" have begun to make major concessions in their ideological positions in relation to the Tribal Council. Clemmer feels these concessions, in effect, legitimize the Council's existence, and thus concede the one fundamental tenet -- denial of the Tribal Council's authority -- that formerly defined the Traditionalist movement. Public exposure of these relationships is something many Hopis are likely to view as "sensitive" information. If Clemmer's purpose is flawed, from their viewpoint, he has erred by telling too much.

Roads in the Sky treats the Hopi Traditionalists as a social movement. This treatment immediately sets up a contrast between the Hopi "people" and the Hopi as a "nation," or as several nations. However, unlike Peter Iverson's explicit treatment of the phenomenon of nation-building among the Navajo (1981), Clemmer leaves the status of Hopi nationhood

unresolved. His implication is clear, however: to speak of a Hopi national entity (or a Navajo nation, for that matter) is to legitimize colonial administrative governments that have self-determination in name only, and that continue primarily to serve the economic and political interests of the metropole.

By placing the Hopi Tribal Council in a more encompassing political context, it is easier to interpret its operations as a power node extended (by deceit, manipulation, and coercion) into the periphery. At Hopi it is woven into a huge knot of tangled relationships that do not lend themselves to easy comprehension, much less easy engagement in pursuit of non-violent resolution to the conflict at Big Mountain.

An associated question that Clemmer also leaves open concerns how the land struggles between certain communities of Hopis and Navajos became generalized (and thus misperceived) as a great national struggle between "the Hopis" and "the Navajos," represented by their respective "tribal governments." In that over-generalization, the Navajos are often framed as the bad guys, in great part because Navajos outnumber Hopis by a great margin. In my view, the demographic differential should have little bearing on the "land dispute"; the Navajo population did not increase *at the expense of* the Hopi population, which is not to say that the population of Navajos in the 1882 did not increase. But there was legitimacy to Navajo occupancy of the now partitioned lands after 1882; many Navajos moved into that area as a matter of U.S. policy.

In the frame-up, the Navajos are understood as belligerent aggressors, not as having been in great part forced into conflict with Hopis over land, due to the imperial expansion of the U.S. From this revised perspective, the U.S. is primarily accountable for the injuries sustained by both Navajos and Hopis. There may well have been some "bad" Navajos who presented threats to their "good" Hopi neighbors; but Clemmer explains that the majority of complaints came from First Mesa villages, against Navajos who came west out of the 1868 reservation through the Ganado region, following their release from Bosque Redondo. These Navajo communities or families had clear legal obligations attached to the *tiponi* explained in Chapter 9, but these obligations were to Hopis, not to the U.S. government. At no time did the United States government legally become the enforcer of the *tiponi*. Instead, the US legitimized the presence of Navajos in the area that became the 1882 reservation, right up until coal-mining interests necessitated clear titles. This is an important point in Clemmer's argument, in fact; the problem is a question of emphasis.

In addition, the Navajos spoken for in the *tiponi* did not speak for other Navajos in other geographic regions. Clemmer explains that "thousands" of Navajos were in the area that eventually became the northern reaches of the 1882 reservation from a period that predates the entry of the United States, and perhaps the arrival of the Spanish, as well. Many of these Navajos eluded capture by Kit Carson and subsequent removal to Bosque Redondo, and they had their own separate peace with Oraibi (at Third Mesa), while having little if anything to do with the events at First Mesa. These Navajos were not belligerent aggressors. As Clemmer explains, the relations between some Navajos and Hopis were more than just cordial; they were interdependent economically as well as politically and militarily, and they cemented such relations especially through intermarriage. Many of the people at Big Mountain and in the other resistance communities trace their descent and legacy from those earlier resisters -- the friendly neighbors welcomed in Oraibi. These Navajos were (and are) unfairly included in accounting for whatever negative events transpired around First Mesa. But even the Navajos around First Mesa were never fairly represented by the Navajo Nation's government in Window Rock (another "finger" of the US government, in Clemmer's analysis). The Navajo government became the legal entity

made accountable for all offenses, great and small, committed by Navajos who were being subjected to the same pressures as Hopis upon whose traditional lands they were residents.

Another chapter in Hopi political history on which Clemmer should place greater emphasis is the resuscitation of the Hopi Tribal Council in 1951. The Council was reconstituted for the fundamental purpose of being legal party not to secret leases of the reservation, but rather to the Indian Claims Commission case that bought off the Hopis (at a pittance!) for the southern reaches of their ancestral homeland. These lands include the area presently occupied by the Interstate 40 corridor and the cities of Flagstaff, Winslow and Holbrook. As highlighted in Clemmer's subtle explication of events, the Traditionalists were co-opted by the Hopi Tribal Council in this instance, as the Council finally accepted the Traditionalist position that the cash settlement should never be accepted. Although the US government insisted that restitution for its illegal seizure of Hopi lands had to be in cash, this legal precedent was then violated in PL 93-531, which explicitly provided that no cash settlement could possibly be taken as restitution for lands occupied by Navajo.

It is important for Big Mountain partisans to understand the real substance of the "land dispute." It is equally important to recognize that the bottom line at the point of implementation is that innocent people are being punished for the sins of others, while the real perpetrator of land theft -- the U.S. government -- somehow rises above the fray as arbiter of the conflict it largely created, as enforcer of the "settlement" it engineered, and as the main beneficiary of the outcome. Clemmer makes all these points, but he leaves the linkages between them less than fully developed; thus, the argument falls short of coherent presentation. Further, Clemmer does not adequately describe the atmosphere of fear and loathing and impending doom that has been generated at Big Mountain and the other Navajo resistance communities as a major feature of the current situation (which has continued since the early 1970s). He concentrates instead on the apparently growing consensus among Hopis that the US government will (and should) act to evict Navajos who continue to resist the program. This omission has the effect of legitimizing both tribal councils, while simultaneously legitimizing another in a long series of colonial laws that have, in their entirety, pushed all Indians ever closer to the brink, despite their resistance strategies.

And why do we have all this to explain, in the end? At the close of Chapter 9, Clemmer reviews several competing explanations for the relocation, and he comes to a conclusion of how the expanding colonial empire instigates conflicts among the subordinated puppets it has created to represent its own competing interests in the modernization process. While I do not disagree with Clemmer on this point, he arrives at his conclusion having given extremely short shrift to the "energy connection" as part of a causal relationship. I agree that the evidence is scanty that Peabody Coal Company single-handedly engineered the relocation, but that possibility is not really the point. To speak of the "energy connection" is not necessarily to call "conspiracy" into question, either. Which is why a view of "confluence of interests" is more appropriate than "conspiracy," especially since that confluence is so vast as to approach the "system" level of analysis to which Clemmer subscribes.

The point that I think should be emphasized here is that within the enormity of the confluence of interests, there is a time-line of coming events projected generations into the future. There is also a lot of inertia developed in the flow of energy out of the Peabody mines and into the national power grid and into the national (and local) economy. That inertia is projected to continue indefinitely, but let's take 75 years, the period of the

"leases" offered to Navajo resisters by the Hopi Tribal Council, as a rough indicator of what might be considered relevant. My hunch is that this period is probably fairly close to the time projected when the present extraction leases will be played out, and when the resources under Big Mountain will need to be brought on line. Two or three generations from now, in other words, when our grand-children and great-grand-children are coming of age, the expected Hopi and Navajo progeny will be handed the obligation to duke it out once more in determination of whether sacred lands are irrevocably transformed into another "national sacrifice area," and whether the Navajos, or the Hopis, or both peoples will be further devastated through ethnocidal policies. The context of that future moment is of course unknown, but given the current pressure to identify and allocate energy resources, which has been policy since the days of Project Independence in the mid-1970s, it seems reasonable to speculate that the pressure will be even greater at that time. I personally cannot imagine how a reasonable businessman would fail to overlook the significance of the Black Mesa coal deposits, were the coming generations to encounter their own problems, like oil shortages, in allocating control of energy. To begin the process of clearing the way through obstacles of such sticky importance as clear title to land would only be prudent. While I do not necessarily expect to see evidence of the energy connection brought to the surface at this moment, I would predict that eventually it will emerge, and then the greater truth will be understood. It seems to me that this is exactly what the Hopi resisters to energy development have been saying for a long time, according to Clemmer.

Clemmer's book appears just as another threatening chapter in the relocation story begins, and just in time to contribute to the effort to prevent another tragic and shameful episode in the further development of relations between Indians, the US government, and the non-Indian public (including Big Mountain partisans). Thanks to Clemmer, "the Hopis" are easier to understand in the relocation scenario, but the understanding is of something very messy indeed. I suspect that some Hopis will be distrustful of Clemmer's intent, since his book digs into material that Hopis regard as sensitive intellectual property. But such is the nature of this quest for the unvarnished and unrevised truth, an exhaustive effort to clarify the many cross-cutting dimensions of Hopi life. Clemmer performs a great service by informing us that the Navajo relocation is not the singular, all-consuming political issue at Hopi. Neither is energy development, nor even, perhaps, the development of the division or union between "Traditionals" and "Progressives." Although these issues have each developed in their distinctive ways, they have not been powerful enough to dissolve the bonds of clan, lineage and ceremony that manage yet to contain such divisive influences. Thanks to Clemmer, we know a piece of what is happening in Hopi today.

References Cited:

Iverson, Peter.

1981. *The Navajo Nation*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Sills, Marc.

1992. *Ethnocide and Interaction Between States and Indigenous Nations: A Conceptual Investigation of Three Cases in Mexico*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Denver.

Environment and Society in Roman North Africa: Studies in History and Archaeology, by Brent D. Shaw. Collected Studies Series; Aldershot: Variorum, 1995. xii, 271 pp.

Reviewed by Lea Stirling, Department of Classics, University of Manitoba

Environment and Society in Roman North Africa is a collection of seven essays written by historian Brent Shaw between 1976 and 1991. These essays focus on three issues pertaining to the relationships between Romans and indigenous peoples in North Africa: climatic change (or lack thereof) between Roman times and the present, the role of the camel in an arid landscape, and systems of water management. All of these topics have contemporary resonance and Shaw's insights are useful in historical and modern contexts.

Shaw's opening essay, a description of the state of archaeological research in North Africa in 1976, is an interesting and thoughtful account. It was satisfying, for once, to read a manifesto of this sort and realize that the nature of research has in fact changed in the intervening twenty years. Shaw has two major observations. First, he laments the separation of historical and archaeological research, and exhorts historians to make more profitable use of archaeological data in their research. He rightly observes that archaeological data are particularly relevant to economic and agricultural history and points out how, even so, very few historians make use of archaeological data even when writing about these very topics. There are two observations to be made on this point. Shaw's own work, as seen in this volume, sets an example for others in his responsible use of archaeological sources (especially essays II, V, VII). He is not alone; archaeological data of all sorts have become much more standard as evidence in historical and economic accounts of North Africa (and other regions of the Roman empire). D.J. Mattingly's account of Roman Libya, for instance, creates an excellent synthesis of material and literary evidence (D.J. Mattingly 1995).

Shaw's second complaint is that archaeologists devote too much attention to urban sites and ignore the archaeology of the countryside. The latter, he argues correctly, has more evidence pertaining to questions such as how agricultural prosperity was achieved. In particular, he urges that archaeologists concentrate more on field survey, the systematic collection and analysis of surface finds. Field surveys provide broad evidence for the locations and nature of occupation of a large territory (a river valley, for instance) over time, evidence that cannot be obtained through any other method. With respect to field survey, the archaeological profile of North Africa has changed notably since 1976. Field survey is now an established component of Mediterranean archaeology generally, and North Africa is no exception. Several important survey projects have investigated or are now investigating rural landscapes in North Africa, especially in Libya and Tunisia. The UNESCO Libyan Valleys Survey (ULVS) of the 1980s, soon to be published in full, is one of the most important, as the survey has mapped systems of walls, terraces, and farms in selected sections of the Libyan pre-desert. This surface survey was accompanied by select excavations and a full program of study of seeds, bones, and ancient pollen samples; the latter will be crucial for studying ancient environmental and climatic conditions. The results from ULVS are very important for studying farming methods in a marginal environment. Shaw himself makes use of preliminary reports from ULVS in his final essay (VII). Other smaller scale Libyan projects are reported regularly in the *Journal of Libyan Studies*. Another extensive and influential survey is R.B. Hitchner's investigation of the olive producing Kasserine area of southern Tunisia (e.g. R.B. Hitchner 1990). Again, by the time

of his final essay in 1991, Shaw has been able to make use of this information as well. A Danish team has recently completed a survey of the Segermes region of coastal Tunisia (S. Dietz et al. 1995). Their findings include several production sites. Urban and rural field survey led by D.J. Mattingly, D. Stone, and N. Ben Lazreg at the coastal Tunisian city of Leptiminus will yield important information about production and the interrelationships of town and country (N. Ben Lazreg and D.S. Mattingly 1992). Other archaeological research possibly of interest to readers of the *Journal of Political Ecology* includes D. Peacock's survey of kiln sites in coastal Tunisia (D. Peacock et al. 1990) and joint Tunisian and French work on the "coastline project" (for instance, M. Bonifay et al. 1992; F.R.Chelbi et al. 1995). A broad survey of all types of current archaeological work in North Africa appeared recently in the *Journal of Roman Studies* (Mattingly and Hitchner 1996). Varied in their methods, objectives, and results, all the above-mentioned projects provide new data that will be valuable to archaeologists and historians alike.

After the introductory essay on methods and evidence, the first main theme is "Climate and Environment." Shaw provides two papers arguing against the widely held view that there has been significant climatic change in North Africa since Roman times. In one essay (II) he argues that osteological remains of certain mammals (hippopotami, rhinoceroses), which have been used to argue for a significantly wetter environment in the Maghrib's past, are in fact localized within certain geographical pockets where specific and recognizable factors combined to create a favorable microenvironment. Most of these species are attested into the nineteenth century, and their demise is due more probably to human agency than to climatic change. In the other essay (III), he attacks the myth of significant climatic change on several more fronts. He explains historiographic reasons why colonial powers such as the French preferred to envisage a decline since Roman times. He evaluates such ancient literary sources as exist for their testimony on the climate and agricultural prosperity within Africa. He points out nineteenth century events, such as logging, that accelerated aridity long after the Roman period was over. The strength of these essays is the scrutiny of a wide variety of modern primary sources including administrative documents and archaeological reports of the modern colonial period. Moreover, sound historiographic analysis tempers his reading of all sources and is clearly explained.

The next essay (IV) debunks another popular myth about Roman Africa: the supposed Roman reintroduction of the camel and that animal's alleged superiority for use in warfare and agriculture. Again, the historiography is illuminating, and Shaw uses a combination of ancient literary testimonia, archaeological data, ethnographic evidence, and modern scientific findings to make his point. The multifaceted, overall argument is convincing, although the archaeological evidence is incomplete at best. When Shaw discusses the archaeological record, he cites only prehistoric contexts where camel bones have been found and does not name examples of archaeological sites of the early historical period (679-80). Full archaeological continuity is not demonstrated, but negative material evidence does not disprove his other arguments.

The final section of the volume focuses on "Water and Power." All three of these essays define aspects of the contrast between "consumptive" urban water usage and "productive" rural water usage, and work to move our eyes beyond the romantic dazzle of the urban aqueducts to less glamorous but more agriculturally productive methods of water management. Shaw also tackles the recurring opinion that Romans introduced more advanced farming methods, vastly increasing the region's agricultural prosperity during the Roman period. Essay V, "Water and Society in the Ancient Maghrib," has been very influential since its publication in 1984. In it, Shaw begins by articulating the difference between "consumptive" and "productive" water usage and discusses both the historiography and the methodology of the issue (pp. 121-42). He then focuses primarily on "productive" rural water systems: defining agricultural needs, describing how select systems met these needs (pp. 142-50), and evaluating how Romans interacted with this indigenous

technology (pp. 151-67). He makes a persuasive case that the methods of arid agriculture seen in the Maghrib predated Roman arrival. In the final section, he explores how the exploitation of water as a valuable commodity affected social structure and interactions (pp. 167-71). Shaw returns to the theme of water and society in essay VI, a case study of the irrigation community of Lamasba.

The final essay (VII) returns to the theme of consumptive and productive water use and takes a close look at the role of aqueducts. Although the aqueducts seem to many modern viewers to epitomize Roman pragmatism, in actual fact they were astronomically expensive to construct, gave much of their supply to extravagant public fountains and baths rather than productive uses, and in many cases significantly postdate a city's main phases of expansion. This form of "consumptive" use of water did not create the prosperity of a city or region, but instead acted as a conspicuous symbol of the success a city had already achieved.

Despite its origin as a collection of reprinted essays, this compendium forms a coherent volume. On the whole, the essays work fairly well together, though there is a certain amount of repetition within the articles and some odd sequences of information resulting from the thematic rather than chronological arrangement of the papers within the book. Where a conventional book would have an introduction and a conclusion, this compendium commences with a brief new introduction by Shaw (1994), followed by a manifesto on the types of archaeological information available and the ways in which the historian can use such information (essay I). The final essay (VI), which also happens to be the most recent, works fairly well in place of a summary chapter, although it does not touch much on the questions of climatic change or the so-called introduction of the camel by the Romans. The essays remain in their original and varied typesets, and retain their original pagination. There is not new pagination for the book. An index has fortunately been provided, and entries cite the essay number and page number for each reference.

Over two decades, Brent Shaw has contributed enormously to our understanding of ancient North Africa and the present volume will make his papers, many of them influential, more accessible to students and to a wider audience.

References cited:

Ben Lazreg, N., and D. J. Mattingly, eds.

1992. Leptiminus (Lamta): A Roman Port Town in Tunisia. Report No. 1. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplementary Series 4. Ann Arbor.

Bonifay, M., A. Oueslati, R. Paskoff, H. Slim, and P. Troussset.

1992. Programme Tuniso-Français d'Étude du Littoral de la Tunisie: Bilan des Travaux 1987 - 1990." *Bulletin des Travaux de l'Institut National du Patrimoine, Comptes Rendus* (Fascicule 5. Janvier-Juin 1990): 95-116.

Chelbi, F., R. Paskoff, and P. Troussset.

1995. "La Baie d'Utique et Son Évolution Depuis l'Antiquité: Une Réévaluation Géoarchéologique." *Antiquités Africaines* 31: 7-51.

Dietz, S., L. Ladjimi Sebai, and H. Ben Hassen, eds.

1995. *Africa Proconsularis: Regional Studies in the Segermes Valley of Northern Tunisia*. 2 vols. Copenhagen.

Hitchner, R. B.

1990. "The Kasserine Archaeological Survey, 1987." *Antiquités Africaines* 26: 231-60.

Mattingly, D. J

1995. *Tripolitania*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Mattingly, D. J., and R. B. Hitchner.

1995. Roman Africa: An Archaeological Review. *Journal of Roman Studies* 85: 165-213.

Peacock, D. P. S., F. Bejaoui, and N. Ben Lazreg.

1990. Roman Pottery Production in Central Tunisia. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3: 59-84.

The Trail of the Hare: Environment and Stress in a Sub-Arctic Community. Second edition. By Joel S. Savishinsky. Langhorne, PA: Gordon and Breach, 1994, 294 pp. map, illustrations, tables, bibliography, index.

Reviewed by Thomas F. Thornton, University of Alaska Southeast, Juneau AK

First published in 1974, this second edition of Savishinsky's monograph of the Hare Indians of the Colville Lake area of the Canadian Northwest Territories provides an expanded, updated portrait of stress and stress management among the Athabascans (Dene) of this harsh region. As a basic ethnography on the Hare, this work is quite detailed and comprehensive, with chapters on "Ecology and Community," "Kinship and History," "Stress and Mobility," "The Missionary and the Fur Trader," and finally "The Hare and the Dog," a probing look at the complex involvement of dogs in Hare economic, social, and emotional life. Savishinsky attempts to derive a generalized model for evaluating the environmental, social, and psychological stresses that confront Hare villagers.

To mitigate the varied sources of stress that affect them--including scarcity of resources, extreme weather, reciprocal obligations, periodic bush isolation and village "crowding," poor health, drinking, etc.-- the Hare employ a repertoire of coping mechanisms or "response features" including: mobility, respect for individual autonomy, generosity and sharing, and emotional restraint and displacement (often onto dogs). These traits are legendary among Interior Athabaskan groups and in the case of the Hare have persisted despite the acculturative forces of missions, towns, schools, wage labor, and other incursions. In the late 1960s, and even today, many Hare still follow an annual cycle of dispersal (for hunting and trapping) and "ingathering" (for fishing, wage jobs, and holidays). Stress is viewed not only as a negative force but also as a positive source of motivation to adapt and develop more varied approaches to the ambiguities of their existence.

The value of Savishinsky's multidimensional approach is that stress and responses to stress are not reduced to one sphere or currency. Thus, whereas an optimal foraging theorist might evaluate a hunter's decision to strike out into the bush on his own (or in a particular group) as an economic decision based on maximizing utility/fitness, Savishinsky finds that many decisions concerning residence and mobility are motivated as much by social factors--particularly interpersonal stresses--as economic ones. Thus, "the size of groups at different times of the year has its psychological as well as its ecological significance" (p.146). Similarly, mobility is not simply a response to stress but a positive state of being, and the trail a "metaphor for life" (p.145).

Yet, while the focus on stress provides a unifying theme to the narrative, as a theoretical construct it ultimately sags under its own weight. Savishinsky is guilty of what Giovanni Sartori calls "conceptual stretching," extending the label of "stress" to so many

phenomena that it loses its salience and explanatory value. Even anthropology itself is defined as "stress-seeking" behavior (p. 252). Not surprisingly, Savishinsky concludes in Chapter 7 that nearly every stress--be it isolation, drinking, or gossip--is also a coping strategy. He rationalizes this redundancy by arguing that stress and stress reduction together comprise a dynamic and dialectic process which works on a number of levels, and by invoking Martin Buber, who schools us on "the paradox that every Thou in our world must become an It" (p. 219). I don't question the paradoxical nature of stress but wonder what happened to Savishinsky's attempt to develop an operational model for evaluating and predicting the particular manifestations of and responses to stress in this northern hunter-gatherer community. In the end, this objective seems to get lost in the existential shuffle, "the exalted melancholy of our fate" (Buber again), wherein all is stress and coping.

On balance, however, this theoretical problem along with other minor issues, such as the unreflective retention of some problematic functionalist terms (e.g., homeostasis, equilibrium, and disequilibrium), should not dissuade readers from engaging this otherwise rich and incisive ethnography. In updating the work for this edition, Savishinsky offers substantive revisions, including analysis of contemporary "stresses" faced by the Hare and neighboring indigenous communities in maintaining their land base, balancing traditional hunting and modern wage economies, and achieving greater political sovereignty. These new stresses include everything from animal rights activists to oil and gas development. Although much of the contemporary data is based on secondary literature, the author's review of this literature is solid and thoughtfully integrative.

The work is suitable for both undergraduate and graduate students in anthropology and others interested in northern hunting societies, human ecology, or stress.

Iyam, David Uru, 1995, *The Broken Hoe: Cultural Reconfiguration in Biase Southeast Nigeria*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 238 pages, 7 Figs, 12 Tables, 28 plates.

Reviewed by Eric J. Arnould, Associate Professor of Marketing, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida

The Broken Hoe is an ethnographic text that readers will find interesting from a variety of viewpoints. The book is framed as a contribution to the anthropology of development but features a number of other intriguing dimensions. Among others, the book joins the small, but growing number of ethnographic studies produced by members of the culture described in the text, in this case, the Biase of Southeastern Nigeria.

The Broken Hoe consists of nine chapters, "Issues in Rural Development," "The Biase of Southeastern Nigeria," "Use of Environmental Resources," "Managing the Environment," "The Economy," "Biase Social Organization and the Reconstruction of Gender Roles," "Rural Politics in a State Polity," "Ideology," and "Implications for Anthropology." Those chapters devoted to environmental and development issues usefully lay out distinctive features and difficulties associated with development in the swampy high-rainfall environment of the Cross River area. The author joins his voice to those increasing numbers of anthropologists and development specialists who call for development from below. His distinctive contribution in this regard is to move beyond the pious, and essentially romantic arguments of those who unduly lionize small-scale rural cultures by pointing to

specific aspects of Biase social organization that work either in favor of (strong age-grade and women's associations, for example) or against (disrupted authority relations between village and lineage elders and the population, men's restricted economic roles, and ethnic minority status, for example) community-based development initiatives.

The chapter entitled "Managing the Environment" disappoints because it actually deals with farming systems rather than environmental issues. Curiously, more about the environment is included in the chapter on "The Economy." Nevertheless, Iyam lays out Biase agricultural strategies in some descriptive detail. He convincingly argues in favor of the economic rationality of the often maligned fragmentation of land holdings because of the high localized risks of farming in this environment.

The chapters on "The Economy" and "Gender Roles" detail in a workmanlike fashion the essential elements of Biase economy, but also point out the structural weaknesses in the economy that constrain rural development. The discussion of market tactics and strategy is intriguing in the way the description resonates with work as diverse as Sidney Mintz's discussion of Penny Capitalism in Haiti and Gracia Clark's work on market women in Kumasi. I would have liked to know more. The author weaves a story that links micro- and macrolevels together, showing for example, how further improvements in rural productivity would be economically pointless without improvements in dilapidated regional transportation infrastructure. The problem of economic marginalization is intensified by the fact that women, who handle the marketing, lack access to canoes controlled by men, as well as time resources. Anthropologists interested in fisheries would probably have liked a more in-depth treatment of this important pole of Biase economy, one dominated by men, but one apparently in recession.

The author also shows how changes in the regional economy inevitably marginalize Biase women farmers. The reader is impressed by the sensitivity with which a male author writes of the lop-sided economic burden placed on Biase women, who are responsible not only for the bulk of horticultural production, but also entrepreneurial market-based activities. Nonetheless, the author also explains men's limited economic contribution in terms of the collapse of certain religious beliefs and political practices that bred patriarchal authority, and to the ongoing need for self-protection within Biase villages.

The discussion of "Rural Politics in a State Polity" is most interesting. It is written to minimize potential retaliation from the Nigerian state for a too-pointed critique of its corruption and utter ineptitude (my words, not the author's), while clearly indicating the feeling of neglect and marginalization experienced by Nigerian minority groups. But the author does not spare his fellow Biase from criticism either, showing how changes in the macro social context have both undermined traditional bases for political action and rendered them inappropriate to meeting contemporary political challenges within the national political arena.

I found the discussion of ideology simultaneously rewarding and annoying in its straightforward discussion of the pragmatic role played by magical beliefs in social and economic life. The interpretation is Malinowskian. For example, the author shows how Biase beliefs create a context, a vehicle for action, and a behavioral template from which poverty or pragmatic necessity provokes systematic departures. Yet I regret the absence of any sense of embodiment in ritual practice or personal existential engagement with the deities and other forces that inhabit the Biase cosmology in the mode of an ethnographer like Paul Stoller. One feels that the author has gone too far in his otherwise admirable desire to de-exoticize the Biase Other, and has rather deracinated the people. The author seems to take for granted some aspects of Biase belief and practice that a non-native ethnographer might well have explored more fully. Or perhaps he is just being discreet.

The final chapter, "Implications for Anthropology," summarizes the author's arguments in favor of locally informed development policy. And rather than couch his arguments in generalities, he grounds his proposals for Biase development soundly in the

social organizational and environmental realities experienced by this population. Iyam's suggestion that the Biase would be "content to experience modernity in meaningful but sustainable bits" (p. 214) rings true to this context, as does his contention that "development projects designed around communal organizational principles that have ceased to exist" (p. 216) are not an uncommon cause of project failure. The key to success, he argues, is strengthening local managerial capacity among the Biase by focusing on age grade, lineage, and women's associations. I would have liked the author to revisit some of the ecological themes discussed in earlier chapters in more detail in the concluding chapter.

The Broken Hoe is not an exercise in postmodern ethnography as advocated by some American ethnographic theorists writing in the 1980s. From a literary point of view, this is a straightforward realist ethnography told from an authoritative authorial position. It favors a descriptive over an analytical mode. But the "I was there" stance of modernist EuroAmerican authors is here replaced by an implicit claim to native cultural authority. At the same time, the author makes extremely intriguing use of the first person plural pronoun, alternating with third person description. The first person plural often stands in as the voice of custom or tradition as these terms would have been used by ethnographers of the older British school. The author is always modest in his claims for the role of custom in Biase social life, and uses the first person plural primarily in an empathetic mode. All in all, it is a useful read and a welcome contribution to the slim ethnographic record pertaining to small population groups of the Niger delta region.

The Postwar Japanese System: Cultural Economy and Economic Transformation by William K. Tabb, Oxford: Oxford University, 1995. vi, 414 pp.

Reviewed by Patricia Mary San Antonio, University of Maryland-Baltimore County

In *The Postwar Japanese System: Cultural Economy and Economic Transformation*, William K. Tabb has written an ambitious and interesting book analyzing the development of Japanese economic success in cultural context. Anyone who studies Japan finds a large literature about Japanese culture, history, and economy, but little integration between the different academic subdisciplines, writing traditions, or topics. In his book, Tabb focuses on integrating the historical, economic, and cultural information he presents.

The book is divided into 12 chapters, and the tone for each is set with opening observations drawn from a variety of sources. Tabb relies on the writings of social scientists, historians, and economists, giving readers a sense of the possibilities in the study of Japan, the vastness of the literature, and the many attempts to understand the economic and cultural life of Japan. Clearly, the author is fascinated by the sheer complexity of the issues he describes. Such a wealth of information can be daunting to the casual reader, however, and repetitive to the reader with a good background in Japanese studies.

The introduction clearly sets out the goals of the book and includes a statement about the contents of each chapter, an important feature in a book of this complexity. The introduction also includes a good basic description of the contemporary Japanese economy. This description is unusual for a book about the Japanese economy, because the author is very creative in discussing the importance of culture, Western ideas about Japan, and Japan as an "other" against which the West has measured itself. The work in the first

chapter fits easily with modern anthropological scholarship about Japan and modern Japanese studies in general. Tabb's discussion about the meaning of culture in general and Japanese culture specifically is very thoughtful, and would be of special interest to readers with little background in anthropology or cultural studies. Later in the book, Tabb describes the emergence of Japan's bubble economy, the recession in the early 1990s, and Japan's plans for the future.

The second chapter focuses on the historical development of economic structures in Japan. Tabb's comparisons to the trajectory of British manufacturing show an uncommon resourcefulness that will surely engage most readers. Tabb also provides a nice overview of economic structures and terms that would be useful to a reader unfamiliar with the Japanese company and economic system.

Chapters Three and Four provide a history of Japan before and after World War II, and Japan's relations with the United States. Chapters Two through Four, although very thorough, cover territory familiar to most who have studied Japanese business or history, with an adequate review of such issues as trade and competition, the Japanese natural resource shortage and energy picture, manufacturing quality and innovation, and banking systems in the two economies.

Tabb includes a detailed description of the Japanese auto industry in Chapter Five, followed by a discussion of Japanese labor relations in Chapter Six. Whereas a general sense of the Japanese workplace is widely known outside the country, Tabb focuses his discussion on the social costs and abuses associated with the Japanese workplace. The increasing pressure, tremendous workload, and time expectations are brutal. Outside Japan, the Japanese workplace is often imagined as an idyllic place where loyalty to the company and the dedication of workers stands in contrast, say, to an increasingly cynical American assessment of business. For all its benefits, however, most Americans would not choose to live or work as do Japanese. In Japan itself there is controversy over the expectations of employers and, recently, several well-publicized cases of death by overwork. Women have little opportunity, and the material standard of living in Japan is not in step with the country's economic success or industrial advancement.

The seventh chapter deals with Japanese politics and the effect corruption has had on the economy. The labyrinthine political system and the financial scandals in Japan are difficult to follow, although several scandals discussed in Western papers are detailed here. It is here that Tabb discusses Japan's bubble economy, the speculation that fueled it, and the consequences of the following recession for the Japanese government, business, and citizens. Increasingly in the later chapters, the author describes how globalization affects Japan. Tabb focuses in Chapter Nine on analyzing trade between Japan and the United States, and especially on the friction over access to different industries. The final three chapters (10-12) focus on the effects of international changes on the Japanese economy and the increasing interdependence between Japan and the West. Tabb discusses possible future changes in Japan in a postmodern world, where nations are increasingly interdependent. The author is especially interested in the effect of the economy on Japanese self-image and foreign relations. Tabb's final comments about how the Japanese are struggling to change their economic goals and are beginning to deal with their surplus have a renewed importance in light of the recent economic problems in South Korea and Thailand. Tabb's analysis makes it clear that along with the West, Japan must be a part of the solution.

Overall, the book provides a thorough, if dense, overview of Japanese culture and the Japanese economy to the general reader. For readers with a strong background in Japan there is enough detail in Tabb's book on a variety of topics to be useful. I especially liked the amount of discussion devoted to cultural content. The discussion of culture was handled well, which is rare outside of anthropology. For all that, some of Tabb's comments show, I think, a misunderstanding of the nature of culture. For example, early in the book,

the author comments about Japanese commitment to the group and the pressure on group members to perform. Tabb writes:

Because social ties and personal sense of worth are connected closely to group memberships and loyalty is key to acceptance, the pressure can be unbearably intense--much of the function of Japanese education and corporate indoctrination procedures is to strengthen the individual to bear it (p. 25).

This is ethnocentric and ill-advised. Japanese have a profoundly different orientation of the individual to the group. It is true that the pressure may be intense, but Japanese have a need to be in a group and a tolerance for group activities beyond the comprehension of most Americans. Companies may use the group identity in a cynical way and Japanese children are enculturated into group activities just as are American children into individualism and self interest, but I doubt that Tabb would use the term "indoctrinated" for the latter. Tabb appears to regard the natural state for human beings to be the same as the American idea of the self, with Japanese needing to be trained to bear the terrible pressure of something different.

Tabb's book is also very interesting in terms of his discussion of global issues involved in the Japanese economic system and Japan's relationship with the United States. I was struck by one comment in particular. Tabb discusses how world insularity is being challenged by international trade and the global economy. He writes:

How the Japanese respond will not be in the control of the sophisticated West handlers whom we have grown used to seeing on our televisions speaking English, with their intimate grasp of who we are, and their clear agenda of what they want us to think of Japan. The future course of events will be decided by domestic politics and consciousness of more typical Japanese, and we do not know them very well. (p. 327)

I agree that we in the United States do not know typical Japanese very well, but it is one of our great challenges to try and learn about them.

The *Postwar Japanese System* is an interesting and useful book. William Tabb handles the complexity of the subject well and provides the reader with many possible avenues for further thought and study.

Dividing the Commons: Politics, Policy, and Culture in Botswana by Pauline Peters. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994. xv + pp. 273, index.

Reviewed by Dan Bauer, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Lafayette College.

Pauline Peters' "Dividing the Commons" is many things. It is a descriptive analysis of political processes surrounding access to herding resources (land and water) in Botswana over this century. It is also an attempt to further debate on development policy itself, through a masterful analysis of an ethnographic and historical example. Two features are instrumental in uniting the work: Garrett Hardin's paradigm of the "tragedy of the commons," and the image of the fence as the device that either makes good neighbors, or divides us from one another, and from ourselves. Hardin's famous 1968 model of the "tragedy of the commons" is seductively simple. In using common resources it is always to the individual's interest to add an increment of use to the common property because that individual gets the whole return on that increment but shares with the community the cost

of the reduced common resource. For example, should ten of us be using a field that optimally supports ten cows with each owning a single cow the system is in good shape. However, it is to my individual advantage to add a second cow. Eleven cows will overgraze the field a little, reducing the milk yield from each cow, but I have two of the reduced portions. Since each individual is in this situation, the commons will inevitably be destroyed. This paradigm has been applied to every conceivable resource, from global warming to talking loudly in the theater. Pauline Peters writes a contemporary history of the process of dividing the commons as it has been applied in the herding-dominated nation of Botswana.

Peters argues that we cannot understand the establishment and dismemberment of the commons in Botswana without analyzing the three forces of her subtitle: politics, policy, and culture. Implicit in the analysis is the assumption that one must also understand the ecology of herding in the region. Peters devoted an intensive period of fieldwork (1979-80) to firsthand observation of politics in the district of Kgatleng in southeast Botswana. The detailed understanding of the positions of local leaders she provides makes it clear why the commons did not evolve into quite the tragedy Hardin might have envisioned. When boreholes (wells for watering animals) were established, it ended the material restriction on herd expansion imposed by shortages of water. One might have expected that overgrazing would have followed. Local leaders' interests, however, were not merely financial but also partly political. They benefited to some degree both from exclusivity and from greater inclusion. As political leaders, they needed both the support of the people who would benefit from rights to borehole access being narrowly defined and the support of those with an interest in inclusion. The complexity met by local political leaders coping with a variety of interests moderated the tendency to move toward the Hardin tragedy.

Beyond the balancing act of local politics, Peters sees policy as having equally important effects. The speed at which boreholes were established was largely the result of the development policies of the protectorate in the 1930s. Policy is subject to more than local forces. Policy is characterized by debate, debates over such issues as how best to develop unexploited resources, over the virtues, or deficiencies, of native land-tenure systems, or over the means to protect fragile environments. Such policy debates are influenced, not just by the problems emerging on the regional scene, but also by the larger debates of the period. Such debates are formed in the larger cultural arena of policy makers. The author examines the shifting discourse found in government documents of the 1930s, 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. She does this to the end of "...draw(ing) out their logic more explicitly than they do themselves and to show how these expert statements are marshaled to explain, guide, and justify a series of administrative and political actions" (Peters 1994: 19). For example, the failures of the Tribal Grazing Policy of 1975 are traced by Peters to an inappropriate application of the thesis of Hardin's Tragedy paradigm and to a distorted view of herd and range management as it was practiced by Tswana herders. Culture comes into play in two major ways. In some time periods, we can see the culture of policy makers as dominated by the Hardin paradigm. Policy makers also lacked a thorough understanding of culture (of Tswana practices). Peters sees these cultural features as contributing to policy failure. Culture comes into the analysis in other interesting ways as well.

That the chief has been cast as a "hero" in Tswana culture constrains what chiefs can and cannot do, as well as how others must deal with them. It, of course, also effects how colonial figures and their policies were received, and even how they view themselves. The larger-than-life, 1930s resident commissioner Lieutenant Colonel Charles Rey comes across as having a view of himself and his job that had a powerful parallel with the Tswana depiction of chief at that point in history.

From a theoretical perspective, "Dividing the Commons" is not explicitly Weberian.

Nevertheless, Pauline Peters' work resonates nicely for those of us steeped in that tradition. The analysis makes the historical influence of ideas central without ignoring the roles played by the more material factors of economics and ecology. The analysis portrays the historical process behind current grazing policy as having parallels with that of the nineteenth century enclosures of English history. In such historical processes, parties contend over the very meanings of things and acts, as well as wealth itself. To fence or not to fence creates and destroys wealth, and it alters or maintains the way people relate to one another as members of communities and of status groups.

The organization of the book gives us a good understanding of the work's breadth and depth. The work begins with an analysis of the historical process that transformed the precolonial state, called the "Morafe," first into a colonial reserve and then into a district. Seeing Morafe's organization as a named political and cultural entity under a chief with an internal structure rank and wealth is essential to the understanding of the events that followed. As we might expect, the precolonial states were not simply replaced with Western administrative structure, but went through a transformation characterized by political maneuvering by actors on all sides. Pauline Peters represents the 1930s as a watershed in water development. This was the period of the great depression and of great development in the form of boreholes. One senses that it was also a period of great dramas, a little like that depicted in John Huston's film, "Chinatown," set in water-starved southern California. As with any process involving major resources, boreholes created both beneficiaries and privileged. The terms of what has become the debate were set in the 1950s and 1960s. Were policies causing degradation instead of development? And, looking back, was the British government motivated by concerns over such issues as the causes of overgrazing or by imperialistic ambitions? Who would pay? Should access to resources be public or private?

We are then presented with cattle herding as it appears to those attempting to cope with making a living from cattle: to family strategies, intrafamily strategies and syndicates. The critical issues revolve around access to water and pasturage, and to who and what should be fixed or mobile. The situation is perhaps not as dramatic as that described by Evans-Pritchard for the Nuer, where the flooding and receding of the Nile places pasturage at times under water, and at other times too far from water. In Botswana, individuals and groups feel that they are hemmed in by a rising tide of other entities: syndicates, farms, etc.

Peters moves from the level of families, where negotiation over cattle is a major focus, to the level of syndicates. At this level negotiation focuses on competing claims to access to water and pasture. Syndicates, like other organizations, are faced with the problem of regulating numbers. In the simplest terms, with too few members it is difficult to defend claims; with too many, prosperity is threatened. Tensions must be resolved over what constitutes membership, who are heirs, and the rights of hired labor. It was in the context of the contradictions engendered by tensions over grazing and water claims that The Tribal Grazing Land Policy of 1975 was promulgated. The other key context for the development of this policy is the paradigm of the tragedy of the commons. Framing the argument in this way placed the blame for overuse on traditional practices and sets a foundation for exclusive rights. In complex ways these more exclusive rights to borehole access confounded with grazing rights helped create greater degrees of social inequality.

"Dividing the Commons" successfully allows us to understand the historical activity through which the commons are being divided in Botswana through examining the perspectives of actors at all levels of the process, from the herding family to those involved over more abstract issues of policy. The book is of interest to those focused on southern Africa, to those devoted to policy, and to those struggling to successfully place local ethnography in larger contexts.

References Cited:

Bauer, Dan

1987. The Dynamics of Communal and Hereditary Land Tenure among the Tigray of Ethiopia. In *The Question of the Commons: The Culture and Ecology of Communal Resources*, ed. B. J. McCay and J. M. Acheson, 217-30. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Hardin, Garrett

1968. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 162:1243-1248.

Weber, Max

1946. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. London: Oxford University Press.

African Market Women and Economic Power: The Role of Women in African Economic Development. Bessie House-Midamba and Felix K. Ekechi, editors. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995. xix, 214 pp.

Reviewed by Suzanne Friedberg, Department of Geography, University of California – Berkeley

Whereas women in some parts of Africa have been involved in trade since at least the seventeenth century, in the past 25 years African market women have become the subject of considerable academic interest. Much of the ethnographic and sociological research conducted in the marketplaces and streets throughout sub-Saharan Africa has been guided by one of two major goals.

First, feminist scholars have sought insights into fundamental questions about the relationship between capitalism (or "economic development") and patriarchy. Historical references to powerful market "queens" in precolonial West Africa, for example, generated debate about whether customary exchange and property relations gave women in general the means to accumulate wealth and status or whether, like today, gendered access to resources limited opportunities for all but a small minority of women. Although the frustratingly sketchy historical record may leave this particular debate unresolved, contemporary observations of more and more women throughout the continent turning to petty trade out of economic desperation are beyond dispute. In the current era of structural adjustment, economic reforms intended to "unleash" capitalist development have not freed women from the gender norms that grant them heavy domestic responsibilities but few resources or freedoms. For many, then, small-time commerce represents one of the few if not only options for survival.

A key question now has become to understand how women working even under this bleak imperative can find in the marketplace a measure of status, autonomy and solidarity-how, in other words, they find in trading, if not necessarily an escape from poverty, then perhaps the means to challenge oppressive gender norms. Also needed is more attention to differentiation and stratification between and within groups of traders. The many ethnographies of small-time vendors and the relatively fewer accounts of commercial

high-rollers (the "Mama Benzes") tend not by themselves to explain what configurations of culture and political economy are most conducive to successful women's trading, either on an individual or community level.

The second common concern underlying research on African market women is that of employment and food security in rapidly growing cities. Some of the earliest studies of the so-called informal sector, sponsored by the International Labor Organization, showed that a much higher proportion of the urban population than previously realized was making a living in small-scale street, market, and home-based trades. Since then, this proportion has, if anything, increased as urban populations continue to grow faster than formal-sector labor demand (especially under structural adjustment mandates to "rationalize" employment in industry and civil service). In addition to providing jobs for both women and men, informal commerce also of course brings food to otherwise poorly serviced neighborhoods of African cities. Except perhaps in South Africa, supermarkets play a minor role in urban provisioning, with most foodstuffs, especially fresh foods, moving instead through the dense and intricate circuits of regional and local traders. These "middlemen" (often women) are often criticized for inefficiency and sometimes prosecuted for presumed hoarding or unfair pricing, but no government or private corporation has succeeded in distributing such a volume and diversity of foodstuffs as broadly or as affordably as informal traders.

Feminist researchers on African food supply have observed that customary circuits of food commerce endure at least in part because they are run by women who, like the classic "self-exploiting" peasant, work long hours for very little, and for whom the bottom line is survival. Ironically, these women traders' stubborn persistence has made them easy to neglect. Compared to development aid targeted either to farmers (male or female) or to other kinds of informal enterprise (i.e., construction, small-scale industry) programs to assist women traders are rare, and often limited to infrastructural improvements, like new plumbing and roofing in the marketplaces. Although these help, recent research indicates that the critical food-security issue for urban consumers is not marketplace sanitation so much as the financial security of the traders themselves, which has typically suffered under the austerity conditions of structural adjustment. Not only do these women's earnings directly feed numerous dependents, but they also buy the next day's stocks, and allow credit for cash-poor customers. If a trader goes broke, in other words, it is not only she who goes hungry. Unfortunately, the financial instability common among small-scale food vendors reflects structural conditions much harder to fix than dilapidated marketplaces.

Clearly, research on African market women addresses issues of concern well beyond African studies. An edited collection such as *African Market Women and Economic Power* therefore offers a useful introduction to anyone not familiar with the by now quite sizeable literature. Its 10 chapters cover both historical and contemporary material drawn from West, East and Southern Africa. All are concerned with how prevailing political economic conditions--whether those of colonialism or structural adjustment--as well as gender ideologies affect market women's work; several also emphasize the contribution women traders make to national economic development.

The strongest articles in the collection (by Catherine VerEcke, Claire Robertson, and Jeanne Downing) all use comparative data, albeit in quite different ways. They are effective because they show concretely how particular cultural or political-economic variables (i.e., Islam, colonial urban policy) explain regional and local differences in women's marketing activities.

Robertson's article, comparing the strong commercial tradition of Ga women in the Ghanaian capital of Accra with the more crisis-driven trade activity among the Kikuya of Kenya, is particularly sophisticated. She argues that the "comparative advantage" of the former lies in the fact that, for a variety of reasons, multiple generations of Ga women live and work together in Accra, and consider trade a right and custom as well as a necessity. Neither indigenous household structure nor colonial native policies in Kenya historically facilitated the development of intragenerational women's commercial enterprises, but Robertson finds evidence that contemporary poverty and marital instability are forcing women to change how and where they live and work. The result is that although they are poorer they are also, like their Ghanaian counterparts, more economically autonomous of men, and more committed to that autonomy. This is precisely the kind of analysis that sheds light on the dynamic between gender and economic change. VerEcke's chapter details a more microlevel study of Islamic Northern Nigeria and Downing's macrolevel analysis of Southern Africa, both with interesting new findings.

Unfortunately, some of the articles are quite weak, and seem more interested in portraying their subjects in a positive if not heroic light than in contributing anything to existing knowledge. Whereas the introduction claims that all the chapters are based on original research, a few of them make scant reference to the authors' own findings, and instead rely heavily on oftentimes inappropriate quotes from outdated secondary sources. Others contain more evidence of fieldwork, but no new observations; they simply remark (as did the earliest studies in the 1970s) that the market women work hard to feed their families, and contribute to economic development. All very true, but after several reiterations not very useful.

The sense of redundancy is compounded by the fact that many of the articles begin by reviewing the same standard "women in development" literature; the editors could have more effectively put this material in the introduction. In addition, their range of case studies should have extended beyond anglophone Africa. In francophone West and Central Africa especially, women traders have long participated prominently in multiple forms of commerce as well as national and local politics, but against a backdrop of laws, policies and commercial structures formed under quite different colonial administrations. They deserve at least some mention in a book that claims to cover the whole of sub-Saharan Africa.

Green Globe Yearbook of International Co-operation on Environment and Development 1997, edited by Helge Ole Bergesen and Georg Parmann. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. pp. 358, index.

Reviewed by David Frossard, Assistant Professor of Liberal Arts and International Studies, Colorado School of Mines.

As someone who teaches undergraduate engineering students about the environmental and social effects of a technological world view, I sometimes find myself

less than optimistic about the future of the planetary ecosystem. Part of my mood can no doubt be attributed to the "usual suspects" -- worrisome population increases; faltering fisheries, forests, and farmlands; accelerated extinctions of species, and on and on. But equally sobering to me is the sense that most of my students--budding engineers and professional scientists who will help shape the technologies of the future--see little need for alarm. Whereas some (if not all) of these very intelligent young people will concede that the planet is today facing unprecedented ecological challenges, few are willing to grant the possibility that these problems are beyond the scope of technology alone to remedy. Whatever previous generations of humans have "broken," students tell me, a new generation of scientists can "fix," with more and better technology.

Of course, I wish them luck. Technology will no doubt play an important role in future approaches to environmental sustainability, particularly in developing cleaner substitutes for fossil fuels and new "preventative" techniques in industrial engineering. But I am also apprehensive. I hope that their technological optimism reflects a justified confidence in their own abilities, rather than simple hubris. I worry that, in their search for technological answers to ecological problems, these students exclude other important possibilities from their calculations. I'm afraid that when economics, politics, and culture go by the wayside, the environment is inevitably reduced to a set of sterile calculus equations, rather than the much messier, imponderable "social equations" that reflect a richer reality.

In that sense, the *Green Globe Yearbook* offers a necessary antidote to simplistic, technological-determinist views of the global ecology--whether those views are held by undergraduates or by influential policy "wonks" inside the Washington beltway. The yearbook, published annually since 1992 by Norway's Fridtjof Nansen Institute, an international resource management think tank, is eloquent testimony to the breathtaking complexity of international political and social (rather than purely technological) efforts to deal with environmental decline.

The volume is divided into a 60-page "evaluations" section (more on this later), and a much longer "reference" section. The latter is an invaluable resource, deftly summarizing scores of international agreements on environment and development. Each summary is accompanied by a map showing signatories to that agreement, and a final table indicates which of almost 200 nations have ratified the various conventions.

Included in this volume are updated summaries of international conventions on atmospheric pollutants and ozone depletion; marine pollution (particularly by oil); marine and freshwater resources; nature conservation and terrestrial living resources; and nuclear safety. The objectives of a particular agreement, its scope, time and place of adoption, funding sources, governing body, and other administrative details are noted, along with the far more important nuts-and-bolts details of the convention: What rules does the agreement put into place? How is compliance monitored? How is it enforced, if at all?

The summaries will rapidly bring nonspecialists (most usefully, educators, activists, and policymakers) up to speed on particular environmental and development agreements. For example, one might quickly discover (on pages 154-56) that the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling is supervised by the International Whaling Commission (IWC), based in London; that the 1997 budget totals approximately 1.15 million British pounds; that the agreement provides for a complete moratorium on harvesting certain whale species, designates whale sanctuaries, sets maximum catches, and so on. This entry also gives a concise history of measures taken by the commission over the years.

The language and content of the yearbook are straightforward and concise, though sometimes to a fault. For instance, controversial IWC decisions to allow aboriginal whaling for subsistence purposes, or Japan's supposed "scientific" whaling, are treated in a single sentence. The yearbook is a first step at understanding these international agreements, the actors who participate in them, and the politics that surround them, but only a first step. In addition, I'd like to see the entire text of each agreement made available for closer analysis, perhaps as part of a companion CD. To the editors' credit, they have provided World Wide Web addresses, where they exist, for official information online. (In that spirit, I direct you to the Fridtjof Nansen Institute's home page at <http://www.tjener.uninett.no/~fni/> and to <http://www.tjener.uninett.no/~fni/ggy.htm> for the Institute's own description of the yearbook.) But in the interest of broad political dialog, why not also provide a judiciously selected list of online commentaries from organizations critical of particular conventions?

In addition to important international conventions, the yearbook's reference section profiles a score of intergovernmental organizations dealing with various facets of development and environment--from the Commission on Sustainable Development to the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and World Trade Organization. I would be less than sanguine about this selection of mainstream players if not for a companion section on non-governmental organizations and "other networking instruments" that profiles three dozen activist environmental organizations, from Greenpeace International to the Pesticide Action Network, the Sierra Club, and the Third World Network.

Again, the reader should take the given information as a starting point. For instance, although the World Bank may indeed see its role in the world as raising "standards of living in developing countries by channeling financial resources to them from industrial countries," that is hardly the reality experienced by people in dozens of impoverished countries now undergoing Bank-prescribed "structural adjustment" a topic conspicuous by its absence. Similarly, the straightforward reporting of Greenpeace's goal "to end the threat of nuclear weapons, nuclear weapons testing, nuclear power, and nuclear waste" doesn't quite capture the drama of the organization's attempts to enter nuclear-weapons-testing zones in the South Pacific, or the sinking of the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior* in New Zealand by French secret agents.

At the very least, however, the yearbook is an appropriate first resource with which to identify important international agreements and major players in global political struggles over development and environment.

From a pedagogical viewpoint, this is a book from which students could benefit (although few will see it outside a library unless it is someday published in a cheaper, paperback form). After reading about a few dozen international agreements to control everything from ozone depletion to aircraft-engine emissions, it is likely to be much more difficult for anyone to dismiss these issues as the sky-is-falling ravings of environmental extremists, as some students are wont to do.

But I can hear my students now: "Well, sure, the yearbook shows that a bunch of countries say these environmental issues are important. But isn't that just window-dressing? Do these conventions really do any good in practice? Isn't it all just public relations?" These are fair questions, ones that we all should ask ourselves. They are also questions the yearbook editors obviously find important. In the volume's "evaluation" section mentioned earlier, reviewers take aim at particular conventions and political actors and evaluate their efficacy.

In a heavily referenced keynote article, Peter H. Sand, former Secretary-General of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES), draws some disquieting conclusions about the future of the CITES agreement in regulating transnational trade in endangered species. "There are signs that CITES may indeed have reached its outer limits," he writes (p. 26). "Considering the treaty's focus on transnational trade, the advent of large free trade areas--aimed at the abolition of internal trade boundaries--is bound to diminish the future relevance of CITES-type border controls, unless new methods of regulation can be developed to cope with geopolitical changes of that order."

In an evaluation of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)--an "organization still in search of a role"--Poul Engberg-Pedersen and Claus Hvashfj Jfrgensen argue persuasively that the UNDP can be of best use building institutional skills at a local level. "Developing-country governments are quite willing to sign and ratify international environmental agreements, but are lacking in capacity for implementation at national level," they argue (p. 37). "Given the UNDP's centralized structure, its institutional presence in 130 countries, its close links with recipient governments, its multisectoral mandate, and its instruments of technical co-operation, we argue for a much stronger UNDP focus on capacity development assistance to the governments of developing countries."

In other insightful articles Lisa Jorgenson details the substantial challenges to environmental regulation of international waters; Leif E. Christoffersen profiles the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (now known simply as the World Conservation Union); Jacob Park warns about challenges facing the World Wildlife Fund for Nature.

If anything, I would like to see far more of these evaluations in future editions of the yearbook. Ideally, each treaty and organization listed would have a companion overview (though, admittedly, this would require a much greater commitment of resources from authors, funding sources, and Oxford University Press). In the meantime, however, previous yearbooks remain available (search the keywords "Green Globe Yearbook" at <http://www.amazon.com> for details) and contain evaluation articles on a wide variety of important topics. An index of those topics is available in the current volume.

In sum, the *Green Globe Yearbook* is a valuable resource and an important contribution to the global political dialog on environment and development--one that activists, policy makers, teachers and, yes, their students should have handy.

**After the USSR. Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Politics
in the Commonwealth of Independent States, by
Anatoly M. Khazanov. Madison: University of
Wisconsin Press. 1995, 310 pages.**

**Reviewed by Pal Kolstö, Department of East European and Oriental
Studies, University of Oslo**

Anatoly Khazanov worked as a senior researcher at the Soviet Institute of Ethnography and Anthropology in Moscow before he left for the West as a *refusenik* in

1985. He is currently professor of anthropology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and has retained a keen interest in the development of ethnopolitics in his former country of residence. The national revivals among the non-Russians, which were a major cause behind the fall of the Soviet state, started just after he had left, but thanks to the new political climate of *perestroyka* and post-*perestroyka*, Khazanov was soon able to pick up contact again with his old colleagues in Moscow. During the "stagnation" period the Institute of Ethnography and Anthropology was one of the ablest institutions of the Soviet Academy of Science, practically all Soviet anthropological expertise was concentrated there.

I therefore agree with the dust-cover advertisement that Khazanov's double background makes him uniquely qualified to analyse the ethnic aspects of *perestroyka* and post-*perestroyka* politics. He is able to combine the insider's intimacy with the subject matter with the outsider's detached analysis "from afar". I also believe that Khazanov has succeeded well in his endeavour. He does not rely on general impressions from his lifetime exposure to Soviet anthropology only, but has digested and refers to an impressive array of Soviet and post-Soviet anthropological studies. Also his reading of Western theoretical and comparative literature is extensive. (Note when the references are as frequent and as many as in Khazanov's book, the editorial convention used here for references is not ideal. The flow of the presentation is interrupted too often; sometimes one has to scan through more than one line of references before the narrative is resumed.)

The structure of Khazanov's book is, as it were, wedge-shaped, beginning in the thick end with a broad overview and gradually working towards an ever-narrower focus. The three first chapters deal with all-Union issues, during and after the collapse of the Soviet state. The fourth chapter is devoted to one region, Central Asia; the fifth, to one post-Soviet country, Kazakhstan; the sixth to an autonomous republic within the Russian Federation, Yakutia; and the seventh to one particular ethnic group, the Meskhetian Turks.

As a last-minute postscript Khazanov has added a chapter on the Chechen war, which was being fought ferociously while he was writing his book. This chapter, inevitably, is less scholarly than the others. Khazanov must rely on his general knowledge about Chechnia (which is good) and on media reports which he did not have a chance to verify. The emotional temperature in this chapter is very high. Khazanov finds the Russian decision to try to "solve" the Chechen problem by military means utterly incomprehensible, bordering on sheer idiocy. I tend to agree, but nevertheless believe that we should not look for the causes behind the war in Russian corridor politics only. The fear of a domino effect if Chechnia were allowed to go, probably unfounded but no less real for that, most certainly played a greater role than Khazanov is willing to grant. So did economic issues such as control over the important pipeline running through Grozny. Also Khazanov's conclusion that the war reflected Yeltsin's "general shift to the right" was probably premature. Today, the pendulum of Kremlin politics seems to have swung towards the liberal position again (but of course, with the still rather unpredictable and erratic nature of Russian politics, not only Khazanov's book but also this review may well be overtaken by events before it is read.)

The first three overview articles were sober and useful, but, as far as I could register, did not contain any really new insights or information. They are based on a modernist understanding of ethnicity; the book, in fact, is dedicated to the late Ernest Gellner. Khazanov regards the forces unleashed by uneven and differential modernisation in plural societies as a very important factor behind the ethnic revivals in the Soviet Union during *perestroyka*, and rightly so. At the same time, he avoids the pit-fall of determinism which

a modernist interpretation may easily lead into, (and which, I believe, Gellner for one was guilty of). Khazanov's theory of ethnicity seems to me more flexible and less assertive than Gellner's. Khazanov admits that the ethnic explosion in the Soviet Union cannot be explained by modernization alone, also a number of other factors must be taken into consideration. He is inclined to think that the dynamics of ethnopolitics made the break-up of the Soviet Union inevitable (the determinist view), but recognizes that this view is speculative.

Following the latest trend in Soviet studies, Khazanov claims that the Soviet concept of ethnicity was primordialist "inasmuch as it was based on the notion of descent." In contemporary anthropological science "primordialism" is a four-letter word. Khazanov goes one step further in vilifying the Soviet approach to ethnicity by adding that "in many respects it was close to conceptions that dominated in Nazi Germany." Soviet thinking on ethnicity was to no small degree informed by the writings and thinking of Khazanov's colleagues and predecessors among the Moscow anthropologists and I think that his stricture is unfair to them. The writings of such Soviet coryphaei as Bromley, Kozlov and others were certainly much more sophisticated than the ramblings of Nazi ideology. Also, their understanding of ethnicity was not that far removed from much of what was produced in the West, in particular, what was being written on ethnic relations in the USSR. Indeed, in the 1970s and 1980s certain Western scholars accused Soviet anthropologists of not being "primordialist" enough. While not actually applying this word, they lambasted Bromley and his colleagues for writing in terms of "ethnic processes." Such concepts these Western scholars regarded as a cover for assimilatory policies (read: 'Russification'). The natural state of affairs, in their view, is when whoever is born a Ukrainian or a Latvian remains so throughout his/her life and begets children belonging to the same nationality.

Khazanov's book really came to life when he moved from macroanalysis to microanalysis. In the second half, he focuses on the Asian parts of the former Soviet Union, which clearly are the regions he knows best. Indeed, some elementary slips when he makes a foray into the European region may make one wonder about the depth of his knowledge about these republics. Inexplicably, he confuses the Dniepr and the Dniester rivers and talks about a "Pridnepr" secessionist republic in Moldova. By contrast, his understanding of Soviet Asian affairs is always thorough and deep--with the partial exception of economics. Khazanov claims, for instance, that "the subsidies that the center paid Central Asian republics were only partial compensation for the profits made from unequal exchange with them." This assertion goes against the grain of most Western research, and supporting references provide only two figures illustrating ethnodemographic change in Central Asia, with nothing about economics. My puzzlement remains.

To be sure, in every former Soviet republic today, including Russia and the relatively prosperous Baltics, numerous nationalists are trying to prove that their republic was economically more exploited by the Communists than all the others. I agree with Khazanov that the communist system was oppressive, even to the point of being (as he claims) totalitarian. Also, the Soviet system was certainly irrational in economic terms, utterly ineffective, and with disastrous ecological consequences, not least in Central Asia. So far, however, I have not found any really convincing evidence that the Brezhnevite system, reprehensible as it was, was directed with particular animus against any one region or ethnic group. If Central Asia was economically exploited by the centre, the new, independence countries in this region should have been better able to solve their economic

and ecological problems today, now that the oppressor is gone. Khazanov, however, implicitly acknowledges that this certainly is not the case.

As one moves through the book toward the sharp edge of the analysis it becomes increasingly fascinating to read. The two best chapters are the ones on Yakutia and the Meskhetian Turks. These case studies are based on very thorough research, which is presented in great detail without ever becoming tedious. The empirical evidence is analysed with sophistication and clearly shows the fruitfulness of the author's theoretical approach.

The two subchapters on Yakutia, on political nationalism and cultural nationalism, complement each other nicely. Once again, however, I felt that Khazanov somewhat underplays the economic factor. As the rich deposits of gold and diamonds in Yakutia certainly are important factors explaining why local Russians also tend to support the campaign for Yakutian sovereignty, a third subchapter on economic nationalism in Yakutia would not have been out of place.

To sum up: Khazanov has written a very good and authoritative book, at times even outstanding. The few critical remarks made above do not detract from this conclusion.

Global Accord: Environmental Challenges and International Responses, Nazli Choucri, editor. 1995. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. xxiv, 562 pp.

Reviewed by Aaron T. Wolf, Department of Geography, University of Alabama

The major hurdle in addressing issues of global change is that they stretch the limits both of scientific forecasting and of institutional capacity to handle uncertainty. Results from global forecasting models have immense uncertainties, whereas institutional planning horizons are generally only as distant as the next election. As the time scale of study increases, scientific uncertainty drops, but so does the ability of institutions to address the problems.

Stepping squarely into the breach of this frictional intersection between science and policy is *Global Accord: Environmental Challenges and International Responses*, edited by MIT professor Nazli Choucri. This collection of 15 chapters makes explicit each of the sets of relations that make global change such a difficult topic to address--relationships between science and policy, nature and humanity, growth and preservation, more-developed and less-developed nations, and even between present and future generations.

In fact, the entire book is about relationships: most of its sections are even titled in pairs ("Actors and Processes," "Economics and Law," "Institutions and Systems"). Its fundamental premise is that whereas in the past some leeway has existed for many of these relationships to be skewed one way or the other, *all* of these actors and their interests (including those of nature) are now so intertwined that, in the words of Maurice Strong in his foreword, "effective international responses can be achieved only on the basis of cooperation among nations, and effective cooperation must be based on common interests."

Choucri, in her introductory chapter on theoretical, empirical, and policy perspectives, gives more detail:

A major purpose of this book is to develop an integrated conceptual framework linking natural and social systems within which basic (and dynamic) social and natural "actors," behaviors, and interactive processes can be identified and analyzed from some optimal range of disciplinary perspectives. An underlying premise is that the effective management of global environmental change requires coordinated action among sovereign states in the international system and the cooperation of all other relevant actors--at all levels.

To this end, she identifies three conceptual challenges posed by global environmental change, all related to these sets of relationships: the linkage challenge, the policy challenge, and the institutional challenge.

The organization of the book might almost be thought of as a global model which, rather than addressing the science of climate change, addresses the relationships affected instead. Like a model, the conceptual framework is first presented (in Part I--"Conceptual and Empirical Dimensions of Environmental Change"), with chapters by Nazli Choucri, Thomas Homer-Dixon, Choucri with Robert North, and Hayward Alker and Peter Haas. In subsequent chapters, again as in a model, the "real world" of interacting people and their paradigms and institutions are broken down and simplified for assessment. Part II, "Actors and Responses," includes contributions from Francisco Sagasti and Michael Colby, Choucri again, Eugene Skolnikoff, and Garry Brewer. Part III, "Economics and Law," includes Edith Brown Weiss, and two chapters by Jerome Rothenberg. Part IV, "International Institutional Responses," includes contributions from Peter Haas and Jan Sundgren, Oran Young and David Victor, Abram Chayes and Eugene Skolnikoff.

Finally, the simplified pieces of reality are put back together and their relationships assessed for implications for the future. Part V, "Imperatives for the 21st Century," is a synthesis of policy issues and empirical interactions by Choucri and North.

The book is strong when examining the pieces of society's struggle with the issue of global change. Two possible futures--one for the optimist, and one for the pessimist--are nicely laid out by Thomas Homer-Dixon. Choucri and North include a particularly useful chapter describing issues of growth, development, and sustainability. And chapters on international environmental law, by Weiss and by Haas and Sundgren, leave one startled at how poorly equipped we are at the international level to address legal issues of environmental change or, worse, to enforce compliance with any of the lukewarm codes that have emerged recently.

Even stronger are examinations of the seemingly disparate links between pieces of the whole of societal response. Skolnikoff's thoughtful chapter on science and technology as sources of change includes their relationships within industry, governments, and the social effects of change. In a wonderful interplay, Rothenberg points to weaknesses in classical economics discounting for time, which, surprisingly, is an apt introduction to Weiss' chapter describing the roots of intergenerational justice in international law. Weiss's piece, in turn--and even more surprisingly -- leads directly back to another chapter by Rothenberg on alternatives to time discounting. This type of playful interaction between many of the chapters, along with many the overlapping references and cross-cutting collaborations among contributors (e.g., chapters by Choucri; Choucri and North; Alker and Haas; Choucri; Skolnikoff; Rothenberg; Rothenberg; Haas and Sundgren; Victor, Chayes, and Skolnikoff; and Choucri and North), leads one to suspect that the

contributors had quite a bit of fun putting this volume together. One is struck by the impression of an exchange that is less like a conference of experts, and more like the neighborhood pub where the experts have decided to carry on their intense discussions once the meetings are ended. Eavesdropping on these discussions, quite a bit of useful information is available.

My only quibble (and it really is only a quibble), is that all of the contributors buy without question the premise that the only rational response to global change is global cooperation. Certainly this is true in an ideal world, and when one has the luxury to prevent future change. But I am not yet convinced that, with the exception of scale, the situation is entirely without precedent --any navigation treaty of the eighteenth century had the same immediacy and requirements for international cooperation--or that any other than lukewarm (politically, not climatologically) coordination is feasible, given the nature of global politics. (This review is being written on the eve of the Kyoto Summit on global climate change, which gives every indication of being a disappointment.) People have *always* lived beyond the local carrying capacity (witness Los Angeles, the Sahara rim, and deltaic Bangladesh)--the rich survive and the poor don't. Recent attempts at global cooperation do not provide much hope that the immediate future will be any different.

Despite this unexamined premise, the volume is a thoughtful, well-(and playfully) organized reference that will be of value for anyone interested in the painful, critical dialog between the science of global environmental change and the institutions entrusted with a response.

Jane Rissler and Margaret Mellon. *The Ecological Risks of Engineered Crops*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. 1996. xii + 168 pp.

Reviewed by E. Paul Durrenberger, Department of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University

New genetic engineering technologies allow the implantation of genetic material into plants, presenting the possibility of twin problems. The engineered plants may be better able to persist, invade new habitats, and become weeds. Secondly, pollen may transfer new genetic material to related plants, changing and perhaps eradicating certain useful species. Both processes threaten the diversity of plant forms that are useful for breeding agricultural crops by conventional means.

"Weeds," plants in places they are not wanted, may be created by either process. If they are hearty, they could cause cascading effects and modify whole ecosystems. In a hypothetical discussion, the authors point out the dangers of a plant with insecticidal qualities that could unselectively harm insects beyond the target group, affect soil microorganisms and earthworms, with unanticipated negative consequences. Rissler and Mellon discuss various examples of unpredicted side effects of plants like kudzu that have become weeds. There is a detailed and technical discussion on the topic of "weediness," and the authors eschew any simple list of traits that may be used to define a simple characteristic of weediness.

They suggest that current controls on the production, marketing, and use of transgenic plants are insufficient to prevent such ecological catastrophes. They propose an alternative scheme, one that rests on a process of assessment of new candidates in terms of

existing knowledge and experimental work. “The fundamental question addressed by the testing scheme is whether the addition of transgenes to crop plants by genetic engineering techniques or to wild/weedy plants by gene flow changes these plants into weeds” (p. 108). If there are strong reasons that the candidate would be less rather than more viable, or if there are other reasons that it would not become a weed, then it would pass. If plants could not be passed on the basis of current knowledge, then field experiments should determine how long the seed remains viable, and how many seeds the plants would produce. Seeds with longer viability or greater seed production pose more of a threat.

These testing procedures become more salient as the authors remind us that remediation up to the point of eradication is virtually impossible, and that postrelease monitoring is not a practical means for controlling risks of commercial-scale uses of crops. The potential problems become exponentially more serious when the authors remind us that “a global seed trade means global risks” (p. 111), and that the wild plants in centers of crop diversity are the genetic basis of the world’s future food supply. The authors remind us that the problem is even more crucial because variability in centers of diversity is disappearing because of habitat destruction and green revolution monocrops replacing traditionally diverse crop varieties.

They advise that because the U.S. plays a leading role in the development of transgenic crops, the U.S. should initiate efforts to protect plant diversity.

That’s the down-side. Where’s the up-side? Perhaps genetically engineered crops will end world hunger? Not a chance. These crops are developed for herbicide tolerance (the most popular), pest resistance (second), and processing and transportation qualities—e.g., high solids like tomatoes and potatoes — and longer shelf life — e.g., everlasting tomatoes, bananas, and pineapples. The authors say, laconically, “to date, improving the nutritional value of food does not appear to have received as much emphasis as shelf life and processing traits” (p.18). In short, “biotechnology fits comfortably into modern food systems that emphasize food processing, consumer niche markets, and production efficiency” (p. 18) where agriculture is already highly productive and where hunger has nothing to do with production shortages. Virtually all such crops are aimed at the prosperous farmers of the North. Furthermore, increased production is not a major factor in world hunger, and transgenic crops will “not compensate for decades of environmental abuse, misguided agricultural policies, and income disparities.”

The authors argue that biotechnology should be evaluated in terms of contributions to agricultural sustainability, not in terms of the causes of the problems — intensive monoculture that relies on synthetic inputs and a large arsenal of poisons. Most applications of biotechnology are meant to contribute to this system. Small wonder. In Table 2.3, “Applicants to the U.S. Department of Agriculture to field test transgenic crops,” we see that 46% of the applications are from chemical companies such as Monsanto, Upjohn, DuPont, Sandoz (Northrup King and Rogers NK Seed), and Ciba-Geigy. Seventeen percent are from Universities and the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Fifteen percent are from seed companies—Pioneer Hi-Bred, DeKalb Plant Genetics, and Holden’s Foundation Seed among others. Forty percent of the applications are for herbicide-resistant crops that encourage the use of the products of the chemical companies that develop the crops.

Most of the book accepts the assumption that transgenic development will continue, and the authors outline ways to contain the genie, if not keep it in the bottle. One wishes they had taken the step backwards they seem to contemplate in their introduction to contextualize the discussion, offering a critique of industrial agriculture that links government departments, universities, and corporations into networks of reciprocity and cooperation to the detriment of sustainable agriculture. A program for sustainable agriculture would “support research that studies soil, water, climate, crops, animals, pests, and wildlife on a farm as an interrelated whole” (p. 21). But in industrial agriculture, “farm” ceases to be a meaningful category. The relevant system, as this book shows, includes markets, technol-

ogy, and other resources, not farms. In spite of the authors' awareness of the importance of policy — the book is, after all, an attempt to affect policy to get some sort of risk analysis and testing adopted — there is no critique of the policy matrix that encourages and maintains the industrial agricultural system of which transgenic development is a part.

The three-tiered system of testing Rissler and Mellon propose as a solution may be a palliative. But one wonders why, having lucidly pointed out the problems that genetic engineering of crops indicate and entail, they did not offer a more systemic critique and more appropriate solutions than a testing protocol that would, if adopted, function more as a nuisance to corporations with products to market than as a corrective for the ills that Rissler and Mellon so accurately document.

David Pepper 1996 *Modern Environmentalism: An Introduction*, viii, 376 pp., figures, tables, glossary. London and New York: Routledge.

Reviewed by Adrian Peace, Department of Anthropology, University of Adelaide, Adelaide, South Australia

Ever since its initial publication in 1984, David Pepper's *The Roots of Modern Environmentalism* has been an indispensable text for any student of environmental issues in postmodern society. Thirteen years on, it is difficult to capture the intellectual excitement that reading that book generated. It so obviously stood head and shoulders above all other attempts to draw together the diverse historical and philosophical influences that made environmentalism one of the most potent political discourses of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Pepper was especially astute in detailing the influence of Marxist and neo-Marxist thought on environmental ideas, a concern substantially understated since then. But it was the scope of the text as a whole that caught the reader's imagination and encouraged her or him to become further immersed in the wide-ranging literature upon which the author had skilfully drawn.

As Pepper points out in the opening pages to *Modern Environmentalism: An introduction*, there has been an exponential outpouring of social science literature on environmental issues since the mid-1980s. His new book constitutes a major revision of Chapters 1 to 5 of *The Roots of Modern Environmentalism* in the light of this more recent literature; only a brief glance at the bibliography drives home how extensive it is. Yet *Modern Environmentalism: An introduction* displays the same impressive command of source materials, the same even-handed appreciation of radically divergent ways of interpreting the relation between nature and society, and the same clarity of expression when dealing with awkward technical arguments, most especially those postmodern scientific ones that have entered the marketplace of ideas over the past decade or so. Pepper writes that his book is "basically an anatomy and history of the ideas about nature and environment that appear in modern environmentalism, both reformist ('technocratic') and radical ('ecocentric')" (p. 7.) It is about as balanced and sober an assessment as is possible, considering the strong reaction that ideas from one political camp are likely to provoke nowadays within the ranks of the other.

Chapter 1 is entitled "Defining Environmentalism," and it more or less opens with an extended table that distinguishes between green values and conventional ones on such topics as nature, humans, science and technology, production and economics, and politics. Pepper uses tabular presentations extensively throughout this text, and they are to be nei-

ther scoffed at nor skipped over, for they are careful distillations of complex comparative issues. The first is an excellent case in point for it details how very different the ecocentric ideas at the core of radical environmentalism are from conventional, modernist thought on nature and the environment. As Pepper puts it, "The core green values are *ecocentric*, that is, they start from concern about non-human nature and the whole ecosystem, *rather than* from humanist concerns. They invoke, in 'deep' ecology, the idea of *bio-ethics*" (p. 15, Pepper's italics.) Not only does this Gaian emphasis on the integrated totality of human and nonhuman experience resonate strongly with the recurrent concerns of Eastern cosmologies, as well as, indeed, those of contemporary physics, it meshes with central strains of much New Age thought, a linkage to which Pepper repeatedly returns. The important contrast, however, is always that between radical and reformist environmental perspectives, and Chapter 1 clearly establishes what their respective components are.

Chapter 2 takes this further by detailing the pedigree of the issues critically addressed by radical environmentalism. The central one, of course, must be that nature is the source of worth in its own right. Far from its being readily and anthropocentrically assumed that the value of nature can only be established by humans, the ecocentric position insists that nature has intrinsic worth (which can, however, itself be variously established.) Because human beings are themselves part of that nature, it follows that people cannot assume right of custodianship over the remainder; equally it follows that animals must be minimally treated in as humane a fashion as possible. From such core ideas, Pepper explores a range of further issues that, in a sense, define the essence of radical environmentalism, and thus enduringly distinguish it from other political positions. These include questions about the carrying capacity of the world's commons, the challenge posed by green economics to the assumptions of neoclassical economists, the principled opposition to high technology as well as the practical dangers of compromise with its intermediate manifestations, the global issues raised by development economists, as well as those provoked by different genres of ecofeminism.

Pepper then tackles in detail the ways in which the relation between society and nature has been construed over time, beginning in Chapter 3 with the premodern and modern ideas which inform technocentrism (defined in the useful, ten page Glossary as "a 'mode of thought' ... which recognizes environmental problems but believes either unrestrainedly that society will always solve them through technology and achieve material growth ['cornucopian'], or, more cautiously, that by careful economic and technical management the problems can be negotiated [the 'accomodators']"(p. 336).) He clearly establishes that it was only from the mid-sixteenth century, and then through to the opening of the eighteenth, that the principles of classical science and Cartesian dualism were firmly laid down. Henceforth, not only were humans irrevocably considered separate from nature, they were situated in a position of unrivalled authority over it. Next, and by the early seventeenth century, it was Bacon "who asserted the creed that *scientific knowledge equals power over nature*" (p. 143, Pepper's italics), and who established that the scientist was an objective figure dealing in universal knowledge, whilst science and the scientist were to become the unrivalled sources of societal progress and the advancement of civilization. The achievement of the eighteenth-century philosophers, especially Voltaire and Condorcet, was to build on these understandings. Henceforth, the scientist would deploy his reasoning and his knowledge to rid the world of superstition, to challenge the improper exercise of power, and to fashion an improved future for all.

Pepper's line of argument is here fundamental. Notwithstanding the taken-for-granted character of these ideas as the modern, industrialized epoch became established, in historical perspective they are quite recent and limited to Western society. In anthropological terms, they are culturally arbitrary, and the challenge to a radical environmentalism is to reveal them as such. In the opening to Chapter 4, Pepper establishes that not all premodern ideas about the holistic relation between society and nature were expunged by

classical scientific thought, and it was in the residue that the roots of modern day ecocentrism took hold. ("Ecocentrism: a 'mode of thought' ... which regards humans as subject to ecological and systems laws. Essentially it is not human-centred [anthropocentric] but centred on the natural ecosystems, of which humans are reckoned to be just another component" (p. 329).) Pepper carefully charts an embryonic but expanding thread of environmental ideas from the work of the parson of Selbourne, Gilbert White, through Darwin and Lyell, to the central figures of the Romantic era; for it was within the ranks of Blake, Byron, Shelley, and the like, but most importantly Turner, Wordsworth, and Constable, that the ultimate sense of unity with, and the unity of, all nature was not just maintained but elaborated in significant, if variable, ways. Alongside these ideas, Pepper discerns the similarly resilient, and ever-innovative, thread of Utopian socialism, which was always distinct from, but on the whole proved consonant with, the emergence of ecocentric thought. He singles out William Morris, for whilst others made occasional contributions to environmental thinking, it was Morris alone who "elaborated virtually all of the 'themes' discovered by radical environmentalists over the past quarter-century about a century before they did" (p. 214.)

How these romantic but rational readings of nature were woven into the early phases of the preservationist movements of late nineteenth century Britain and (to a considerably lesser extent) the United States, provides the conclusion to Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, Pepper returns to the historically constituted centrality of science as "the cultural filter" through which the relation between nature and society has become customarily interpreted; for it is, of course, this prism of science that remains integral to the authority of any kind of technocentric thought. Pepper's judgement is that the idea of science as the ultimate source of detached understanding is less pervasive than was previously the case. He charts the arguments that eminent, early-to mid-twentieth century thinkers have mounted against scientism, including Whitehead, Mumford, members of the Chicago School of Sociology, through to the likes of Capra and Zukav. On the other hand, Pepper has to concede that the overall impact on the public stature of science as a source of "truth" has not been substantial. He writes: "The image has it that, detached from society, scientists, singly or in groups, progress logically from simple to complex problems in an unerring search through the generations for ultimate truth (e.g. fundamental particles), impelled by their insatiable curiosity" (p. 260.) In order to explain this (in some ways) remarkable persistence, he argues that it is important to focus on how science influences the questions that are asked about society's needs and directions, how science responds to market forces in such a way that its paramountcy is reproduced, and how scientists exercise careful control over the answers that they provide, particularly to ensure their consistency with the political imperatives of the day as laid down by ruling elites. Not the least of influences in the reproduction of popular faith in science, however, is the alacrity with which environmentalists themselves use scientific findings when it suits their politics to do so. This raises the question as to whether science is in effect an unreliable ally for radical environmentalists, or whether, as Pepper seems to finally concede, it is a broadly essential, even indispensable, political resource for them also.

The final chapter of *Modern Environmentalism* is entitled "Ways Ahead," and here Pepper overviews the major debates over future directions being engaged in by radical environmentalists as the millennium approaches. Some of these are scarcely novel since they turn on the well-established opposition between radical idealists and historical materialists. Some seem to hinge on rather dated, modernist distinctions, for instance in the debate over "prefiguring," while yet other innovations, for example LETS (Local Exchange Trading Systems), seem quickly to reach their point of diminishing utility. By far the most interesting sections in Chapter 6 concern the prospects raised by the principles of bioregionalism and the politics of confederal municipalism. By this stage, this reader was struck by the concentration throughout the book on issues and illustrations

drawn from England and Wales. Considering that the author is Professor of Geography at Oxford Brookes University, the emphasis is much as to be expected, but such a narrow regional focus may restrict the book's appeal to students in the United States, and further afield-- Australia for example. But this may be to cavil, and no more. *Modern Environmentalism* is exceptional in the range of issues that it addresses, the breadth of sources upon which it draws, and the clarity of presentation that marks every page. The book stands in a class of its own. I recommend it without qualification to anyone with an interest in where radical environmentalism has come from, or the directions that it is likely to take in the near future.